The Army Japan Fears *Major E. F. Carlson*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

October 8, 1940

WAR BEFORE the ELECTIONS?

An Editorial

Authors of Surrender

by Samuel Sillen

A reply to Archibald MacLeish, Lewis Mumford, Waldo Frank, Malcolm Cowley, Max Lerner

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Between Ourselves

THREE of the features in last week's issue of NM have brought many letters. S. R., writing from Buffalo, expresses a general opinion when he says: "The Dutt articles were superb and should undoubtedly be printed in pamphlet form. Those of us who cannot argue like Dutt need Dutt to do our arguing for us." From Philadelphia another reader writes: "Permit us to congratulate you on the quality of NM during the past year. It has been a most difficult period and you have risen to it magnificently."

Perhaps the most unusual response came from readers who warmed to Sean O'Casey's explanation of why he joined the editorial board of the London *Daily Worker*. "What appealed to me most," says one reader, T. T., of Dover, Del., "is the folk-quality of the writing in the O'Casey piece. It read like a document out of some old Irish tale, and the richness of the language and its brilliant imagery lent power and passion to the simple statement of O'Casey's faith in the working class."

Encomiums there were, too, for V. J. Jerome's "Laureates of Betrayal": "A much-needed piece to set the jittery liberal scribblers back in their cupboards," comments M. L., of New York. "Can't we have more salvos like V. J. Jerome's on the cultural front?" asks "An Old Subscriber," who, by the way, is not the same old subscriber who also writes to the *Herald Tribune*.

Well, who are we that we dare not bow to popular demand? To all who want more and ever better NM's, we urge that they turn to the back cover of this issue. Among the writers whose articles NM will publish in the next several weeks are Earl Browder, R. Palme Dutt, J. B. S. Haldane, Alter Brody, Corliss Lamont, Samuel Sillen, William Blake, Bruce Minton, and Joshua Kunitz, not to mention many others who are preparing manuscripts for these pages. These will be memorable pieces on the great political, economic, and military crisis of today, and about the people who must live through it.

Corliss Lamont will act as chairman of the memorial meeting commemorating the twentieth anniversary of John Reed's passing. Reed, an old *Masses* editor and one of the greatest of journalists, was born in Portland, Ore., and died in Moscow. Many of his old acquaintances, friends, and associates will gather at New York's Manhattan Center, 34th Street and Eighth Avenue, on Sunday afternoon, Oct. 20, at 2:30, to recall his vivid personality, his earnest faith in the future of humanity under socialism. Reed died on Oct. 17, 1920. Three days later he would have been 33 years old; and thus Oct. 20 is also the 53rd anniversary of his birth. *Ten Days that Shook the World,* Reed's famous book on the Russian Revolution, was hailed by Lenin. Lenin at the close of 1919 wrote that "With the greatest interest and with never slackening attention, I read John Reed's book, *Ten Days that Shook the World.* Unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world. Here is a book which I should like to see published in millions of copies and translated into all languages. It gives a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. These problems are widely discussed and before one can accept or reject these ideas he must understand the full significance of his decision. John Reed's book will undoubtedly help to clear this question, which is the fundamental problem of the international labor movement."

Among the speakers who will honor Reed are Earl Browder, who will analyze his influence upon American life; Art Young, who worked side by side with Reed on the old *Masses;* Mike Gold, who knew Reed well; and Ruth McKenney, William Blake, Marc Blitzstein, and Maurice Becker. The famous painting of Reed by the late Robert Hallowell will be exhibited on the stage of the meeting hall. You may obtain tickets for the reserved section in advance for 50 cents at NM's office, 461 Fourth Ave., the Workers Book Shop, 50 E. 13th St., and at Bookfair, 133 W. 44th St. Box office prices for the meeting will be general admission, 50 cents; reserved rows, $1.

Our letter file contains a note from Alexander F. Bergman, a poet whose lines are familiar to many readers through their publication in NM. Mr. Bergman tells us that he was fortunate enough to sell a poem to another magazine; the check he forwarded to NM for our sustaining fund. Another thoughtful letter came to us all the way from South Africa, written by Betty Radford, editor of the *Guardian,* Cape Town's independent democratic weekly, and concludes with these words: "With best wishes, and warm congratulations on the best weekly in the world, which is not an idle compliment but in sincere appreciation of the fine job you do." We appreciate this high praise from a colleague.

From the League of American Writers comes the announcement that James Dugan will conduct a course at the Writers School, 381 Fourth Ave., on the recently developed technique of writing for pictorial magazines. The Writers School course begins on next Monday, October 7. Joseph Starobin, one of NM's leading writers on foreign affairs, will lecture on the background of current history at the Fall session of the Workers School.

Who's Who

MAJOR EVANS FORDYCE CARLSON has spent many years in China, and for eighteen months accompanied China's armies as an observer for the US Navy Department. . . . Frank J. Wallace is an economist and writer. . . . James Morison is a free lance labor journalist. . . . Corliss Lamont is teaching a course on the Philosophy of Humanism at the New School for Social Research. . . . Adam Lapin is NM's Washington correspondent. . . . Herbert Aptheker is author of *The Negro in the Civil War, Negro Slave Revolts in the United States,* and *The Negro in the American Revolution.* . . . Isidor Schneider is former literary editor of NM, and author of *From the Kingdom of Necessity.* . . . Alexander F. Bergman has contributed several poems to NM. . . . Simon Wells has contributed numerous critical articles on music to other publications.

Flashbacks

MEMO on an American treason trial: Benjamin Church, who graduated from Harvard in 1754 and became a successful surgeon, also possessed a "poetic fancy" and obtained a certain reputation as a writer. Prior to the Revolution he was an ardent Whig and associated with Whig leaders. He took a prominent part in the Boston Tea Party. In 1744 he was a member of the revolutionary provincial congress of Massachusetts and was appointed surgeon general by that body. But about this time it began to be suspected that he was in the pay of the British government, and a few days after the Battle of Lexington he was caught through a letter written in cipher. On Oct. 3, 1775, he was court-martialed and convicted in proceedings presided over by George Washington. . . . In another trial which fell this week in another year the Haymarket martyrs were sentenced to death. The date was Oct. 9, 1886.

This Week

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NEW MASSES

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24+8

DEAR READER: This is not the time to mince words. This week we were able to say many of the things we have needed to say for a long time and you will find them in Samuel Sillen's article. We know his series will set many a man straight who has puzzled, heartsick, to understand why he has been betrayed by those writers he had so lately believed were *his* writers, were *honest* writers, men like Malcolm Cowley, Waldo Frank, Archibald MacLeish. We were able this week, too, to deal with more of the fundamental issues of our time than we have in months.

We were able to do these things because of you. Your encouraging response to our fund appeal of last week enabled us to go to a thirty-two-page issue this week. *But only for this week:* not enough has been raised to ensure the same sized issue next week. We explained last week that we need $6,000 immediately to meet hard-pressing creditors. Our annual drive last spring for $25,000 fell $6,000 short. We were able to stall off our creditors by loans and notes on the promise that we would raise that amount later this year. And this is the time. The creditors have come.

We feel, and we believe you do too, that it would be a setback if we had to return to twenty-four pages next week. Each of these unprecedentedly crowded weeks brings its new questions to answer, its truths that demand to be told. We need those thirty-two pages to explain, to give the facts, to say the things that need to be shouted from the housetops. America, we want to say, they are selling you down the river; they are edging you into war. They bring fascism in the name of fighting fascism. We cannot say all these things in twenty-four pages. You want R. Palme Dutt again, and Sean O'Casey again, and Ruth McKenney, and you want the rest of Sillen's articles. You want them regularly, but we cannot give them to you, these laureates of the people, unless we have our full-sized magazine. You made it possible this week. If we get $6,000 we are sure to stay on thirty-two pages indefinitely. Will it be thirty-two pages?

The Editors

(Please turn to page 30)

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Authors of Surrender

Speaking for those who won't retreat, Samuel Sillen replies to Messrs. Mumford, Cowley, MacLeish, Frank, Lerner, and other laureates of betrayal. The first of a series.

A CHARACTERISTIC symptom of the war crisis is the haste with which certain intellectuals separate themselves from convictions which, in milder times, they were rash enough to profess. There is something perhaps more pitiful than contemptible in the spectacle of writers jostling one another, in the narrow pages of the *Nation* and *New Republic,* as they breathlessly assert the propriety of their present mood. Repentance is the fashion—as it is the price—of the moment. Journals which formerly prided themselves on their nonconformity plead forgiveness for the innocent abandon with which they sowed wild oats, and a vast sense of manhood invades those who identify themselves with the generals and financiers. In the weekly struggle with the specter of Karl Marx only the names of the penitents change: Lewis Corey, Granville Hicks, Lewis Mumford, Max Lerner, Malcolm Cowley, Waldo Frank. They are the first breast thumpers in the "moral conversion" of the American people which is preached in the columns and speeches of Dorothy Thompson, Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Lippmann, and Archibald MacLeish.

Nobody, as yet, has quite rivalled the sublime cynicism of the liberal Julien Benda, who in abandoning the common people of France to support the traitor government during the war declared: "I welcome these somersaults, this desire that public opinion may forget one's former position at any price; it is dictated by fear of an ostracism which would cost too much." This is the same Benda who once wrote a book called *—The Treason of the Intellectuals!* If some of our liberal intellectuals are still haunted by a sense of old-fashioned shame, their somersaults are nevertheless real. And, what is more important, they are landing, like Benda, with their heads in the quicksands of fascism.

Somersaulting by liberals is a phenomenon neither new nor surprising. "The intermediary, unstable, contradictory position" of the middle-class intelligentsia, Lenin once observed, "is reflected in the particularly widespread acceptance in its ranks of that half-baked, eclectic outlook, that hash of contradictory principles and points of view, that tendency to climb past difficult problems on a bridge of words and to conceal with phrases the historic struggles between various sections of the population, which Marx so unmercifully castigated with sarcasm a half century ago." It is not the immemorial fact of the right-about-face that has changed; it is the character of the epoch in which the turn takes place that has profoundly altered. In more subdued times, the liberal intellectual's marches and counter-marches are relatively harmless and shortlived. At the present historical juncture, where the basic issues of civilization are at stake, the decision to move in the direction of an American fascism is disastrous and irrevocable. Even the colossal betrayal of the liberals in 1917, serious as it was, shrinks into insignificance compared with the betrayal which is undertaken today. For it is not solely the question of war or peace that hangs in the balance. What is even more deeply involved, in this period of ultimate strife, is the question of whether we are to support monopoly capital in its drive toward fascism or whether we are to oppose monopoly capital in the people's urge toward a socialist democracy. This is the crucial issue of our day. History will impose heavy penalties for somersaults in the wrong direction.

Less than three years ago, the editors of the *New Republic* warned their readers that "The truth is that these great 'democracies' are not Galahads who can be depended upon to support the cause of the people. In spite of the wide democratic forces within each, they are still capitalist empires, in which the forces of reaction are always strong enough to use national policy for their own ends." To be sure, the *New Republic* at that time refused to support a policy calculated to enable "the wide democratic forces" within Britain, France, and the United States to frustrate the disastrous appeasement program pursued by "the forces of reaction" in those countries. But this, at the moment, is not the main point. Collective security was not tried, and the failure to organize the democratic peoples against their property-blinded leaders enabled these leaders to precipitate the war. And of that war the *New Republic* said editorially (March 2, 1938): "Any new world war will be like the last one, a war of competing imperialisms, and it will end as disastrously for democracy." Hence, the *New Republic* today congratulates the President on his assumption of extraordinary power to transfer American destroyers to Britain without the consent and certainly without the advice of the elected representatives of the people. Hence, the *New Republic* today supports peacetime conscription, though, it must be confessed, with a certain "heaviness of heart." Hence, the *New Republic* today, instead of opposing "a war of competing imperialisms" that will end "disastrously for democracy," rushes to the support of an administration which, with lightning speed, abandons even its pretense of nonparticipation.

Archibald MacLeish, Mr. Roosevelt's poet laureate, also shouts loud accusations against others in an effort to drown the embarrassing echoes of his own past. A captain of field artillery in the last war, Mr. MacLeish must have known what he was talking about when he declared, in June 1935:

> With war in the offing the realistic and skeptical journal is not read: the newspapers echo the common cry: the propaganda machinery whirls up the dust of its own choosing. If enough people believe that a certain type of war might be justifiable then the War Department will see that they get that kind of war—in print. The kind of war they have gotten in fact they will discover for themselves some years afterwards. . . . I should do everything in my power to prevent the United States going to war under *any* circumstances [Mr. MacLeish's italics]. There is only one possible position against the menace of militarism: absolute hostility. Any other is romantic. Any other supplies the forces desiring war with the means of securing it.

This declaration of absolute pacifism (opposition to war "under *any* circumstances") is one with which I happen to disagree; I would support a war fought under circumstances and leadership and for purposes similar to those of the wars fought by the people of Spain and China: a war of genuine defense and liberation, a war for clearly defined democratic ends and under clearly defined democratic auspices. But I am impressed with Mr. MacLeish's shrewd prophecy that the War Department would again, as in 1917, provide an idealistic war in print only. "The last war against Germany," Mr. MacLeish reminded his readers, "was fought to make the world safe for democracy. The next war against Germany might very well be fought, as your third question suggests, to make the world safe against Nazism." The third question to which Mr. MacLeish referred was one of a series posed by the *Modern Monthly* in June 1935: "Would a prospective victory by Hitler over most of Europe move you to urge U. S. participation in opposition to Germany in order to prevent such a catastrophe?" Mr. MacLeish replied: "No." Today he urges us to banish "the falsifying aid of hindsight" and to flock to the incendiary March of Time film, *The Ramparts We Watch,* which gives us a "true" history of the last war. Mr. MacLeish is so anxious to give us a war for democracy "in print"—or in flickers—that, as Professor Charles Beard recently pointed out, he denies the validity of scientific historical evidence. And having evolved this outrageous theory of history without "hindsight," Mr. MacLeish has the perverse courage to attack our university scholars as "The Irresponsibles"!

"There are great days ahead for artists," wrote Malcolm Cowley in *Exile's Return,* "if they can survive in the struggle and keep their honesty of vision and learn to measure themselves by the stature of their times." A noble, and for many of us in 1934, an inspiring utterance. And what was Cowley's vision and warning? It is worth recalling even at the risk of making Cowley more uncomfortable:

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The mellowness and liberalism of the present ruling class are merely the ornaments of its prosperous years; in times of danger they give way to brutality direct and unconcealed. Its cherishing of individual freedom gives way at critical moments to a call for unquestioning blind obedience to the State, and its fostering of science is replaced by the dark myths of race and war and destiny. Eventually it threatens the complete destruction of culture, since its inevitable and insoluble self-contradictions are leading it toward wars in which, tomorrow, not only books will be destroyed, but the libraries that contain them, and not only museums, universities, theatres, picture galleries, but also the wealth by which they are supported and the living people for whom they exist.

Well, the "tomorrow" of 1934, the "tomorrow" that Granville Hicks, John Strachey, Max Lerner, and the others once daringly envisaged, is today, right now, right here. And Malcolm Cowley, erstwhile critic of "the present ruling class," especially "in times of danger," tells us in a review of Lewis Mumford's fascist-minded *Faith for Living:*

The fact might as well be faced that if we are going to defend American democracy against Hitler, we shall have to borrow some of Hitler's methods, those which made it possible for his country to act rapidly and unitedly, on carefully laid plans. So far I should be willing to go with Mr. Mumford, and it is a long way. (*New Republic,* September 9.)

It is indeed a long way. No one will dispute that, when it is recalled what "some of Hitler's methods" have been.

Pursuing these fascist methods to defend democracy, the police in Britain—with whose government the liberals are currently infatuated—have seized the following books and considered their ownership an offense under the Defense Regulations Act: G. E. R. Gedye's *Fallen Bastions* (published in America as *Betrayal in Central Europe*), Leonard Woolf's *Barbarians at the Gate,* Ellen Wilkinson's *The Town That Was Murdered,* two pamphlets by G. D. H. Cole, and John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy.* (Source: the pro-government *New Statesman and Nation,* Aug. 17, 1940.) And pursuing these methods, all anti-fascist exiles deported to the dominions are required to send their letters to the "Prisoners of War Information Bureau." "And to rub home the lesson that England is fighting for freedom," reports the *New Statesman and Nation* for August 10, "comes the news that men and women who are released from our internment camps are asked to sign a document, just as they were when released from German concentration camps, promising not to say anything about the conditions of their confinement." Of course, the papers are "free" to print such information, but that will hardly be a consolation to the anti-fascist refugees in England whose names have been passed on to the Nazi authorities via Switzerland on the ground that they are classed as "prisoners of war." And such freedom may be little consolation some day to those of us who would suffer for our determination to retain Malcolm Cowley's *Exile's Return* on our shelves.

In their haste to denounce the Marxist analysis of society which they fumblingly and painfully approached in the days when it was still possible for them to face reality with a degree of honesty, many liberals are in effect burning their own books in advance. Mr. MacLeish, speaking as the Librarian of Congress, has already defined for his colleagues in the liberal press the "disastrous" and unpatriotic effect of a whole generation of anti-war writers. He has drawn a momentous distinction between that which may be noble or true "as literature" and that which is unhealthy for the morale, the "spiritual preparedness" of the state. Could the school authorities of Olean and Binghamton, N. Y., desire a more respectable sanction for the principle on which they have withdrawn and destroyed the gently critical textbooks of Professor Rugg? "While the war is on," Sigrid Undset announced the other day, "literature is not a thing to talk about," and her view is increasingly reflected in those colleges which have turned the campus into a parade ground, in the publishing houses, and in the pages of our critical journals. But it is perhaps a little crude to insist on the luxury of an honest literature. In the new economy which Lewis Mumford is drawing up for us, we must accept "poverty, hardship, wounds, and death" as our daily pay, beyond which nothing is "to be demanded as a right." We must create "an abundance of weapons, munitions, tanks, airplanes, warships, or still undreamed-of pieces of armament," and this cannot be done "except by paring down to the bone on every other item of consumption."

The support of such an "economy of sacrifice," the support of military conscription, of war, of imperialism, of all the agencies which prepare for the destruction of culture, requires a gigantic myth, and it is the unique province of a majority of the liberal intellectuals to elaborate this myth. The function of the myth, in the words of Lenin already quoted, is "to conceal with phrases the historic struggles between various sections of the population." In more prosperous years, the liberals form a kind of loyal opposition to the corporate powers; they are vocal, bold, ironic, even bitter, and at the same time anything but decisive. They are past masters at blunting the edge of social discontent. They make faces, but there is no determination in their hearts. In the absence of war and fascism, they make stout pronouncements of their intention to resist war and fascism, and they are able to win a measure of popular support on the basis of their heroic rhetoric. But in times of crisis, when it is time to put up or shut up, they shut up. Or rather, their loyalty to the system having outdistanced their opposition, they evolve shrill rationalizations for the acceptance of the evils which they formerly denounced. With a few honorable exceptions, the sturdy opponents of greed and war now sanctify the push toward fascism with the myth of a crusade against fascism. Overnight, with feverish zeal, they reconstruct the illusion that there is a vast community of interest between the oppressors and the oppressed, the lynchers and the lynched, the propertied and the dispossessed, the Morgans and the Joads, the financiers and the conscripts. Class differences, millions of unemployed, a third of the nation in dire want, the abrogation of civil liberties, suddenly become "trivial" in the face of the "common enemy," whom we are to fight under the leadership of a Knudsen and a Stettinius, and on terms laid down by them.

"The path which leads to the fascist terror has a most attractive entrance," wrote John Strachey, in the days when he, like a Granville Hicks or a Malcolm Cowley, was under the "hypnosis" of Marxism. And he added:

It is unlikely that the American movement for the preservation of capitalism by violence and terror will use the word fascism. The form and name will probably be very different, but the essential content will be the same. . . . There is not the slightest doubt that the British and American capitalists, just as soon as they are thoroughly alarmed, will organize all their forces—their physical forces—in order to attack by violence and terror everything which threatens their position. To suppose anything else is to fall a victim to the most pitiful illusion. . . . It may well be that the workers, if they are unprepared, will have their attention concentrated upon the Mosley fascists, or some similar body, while the real weapon for the destruction of their organizations is being quietly forged by a "national" government. (*The Menace of Fascism,* 1933.)

Today many liberals are enhancing the attractiveness of the entrance. Whether their deception, in particular instances, is unconscious or deliberate, they are an instrument of fascist policy which, in America, employs the demagogy of "a fight against fascism." It is a clever demagogy because it takes into account the genuine and deep-rooted anti-fascist sentiments of the American people and manipulates them for essentially fascist purposes. The service which the liberals can perform for capitalism is priceless for the very reason that they can help effect this transformation of symbols. In 1917 the *New Republic* helped Mr. Wilson and Mr. Morgan to wage a war to end all war; in 1940 the *New Republic* helps Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Morgan to devise a fascism to end all fascism.

Because fascism assumes different forms in different countries, there are people who recognize fascism four thousand miles away but fail to identify it when it develops under their own noses. Thus, as A. B. Magil and Henry Stevens point out in their study:

They mechanically seek to identify fascism by the garments which it wears in other countries and are unable to recognize it when it dons new clothes. In the United States, for instance, there are many people who on the basis of Sunday-supplement accounts of Hitler and Mussolini refuse to see the growth of fascism, unless it takes the shape of a Man on Horseback riding down Pennsylvania Avenue, or a megalomaniac with a little mustache, making speeches in a big voice. But history is richer and more varied. It does not follow stereo-

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typed formulae. Fascism takes on diverse, and frequently subtle forms. (*The Peril of Fascism,* 1938)

Widespread illusions concerning fascism can be best perpetuated by emphasizing its forms rather than its essential content, as the Nazis always recognized. And "anti-fascist" slogans directed against certain aspects of fascism rather than its basic class nature may effectively conceal the fascist purpose of these slogans.

But it is in this realm of basic social analysis, as opposed to superficial and ineffectual moralizing, that the bankruptcy of liberal thinking is most clearly demonstrated. The discovery has lately been made by Arthur Garfield Hays that "Economics, like God, moves in a mysterious way its wonders to perform." The characteristic liberal effort of the day is to describe fascism as some mysterious interruption in the mysterious processes of capitalism. For Lewis Mumford fascism is a "neurosis," for Max Lerner it is a "revolution in the viability of the nation state," for Waldo Frank it is "the throwback of the German psyche," for Archibald MacLeish it is "the revolution against." In order to justify their support of the imperialists within their own country, these liberals must define fascism in terms which will dissociate it from the processes of capitalism which operate in Britain and America just as surely as they do in Germany. They speak more and more of fascism as a peculiar, independent doctrine and system arising in opposition to existing capitalist society, instead of recognizing that it is, in the words of Palme Dutt, "the most complete expression of the whole tendency of capitalism in decay, the final attempt to defeat the working-class revolution and organize society on the basis of decay." They ignore, since they cannot refute, the Marxist analysis which every day's experience relentlessly confirms:

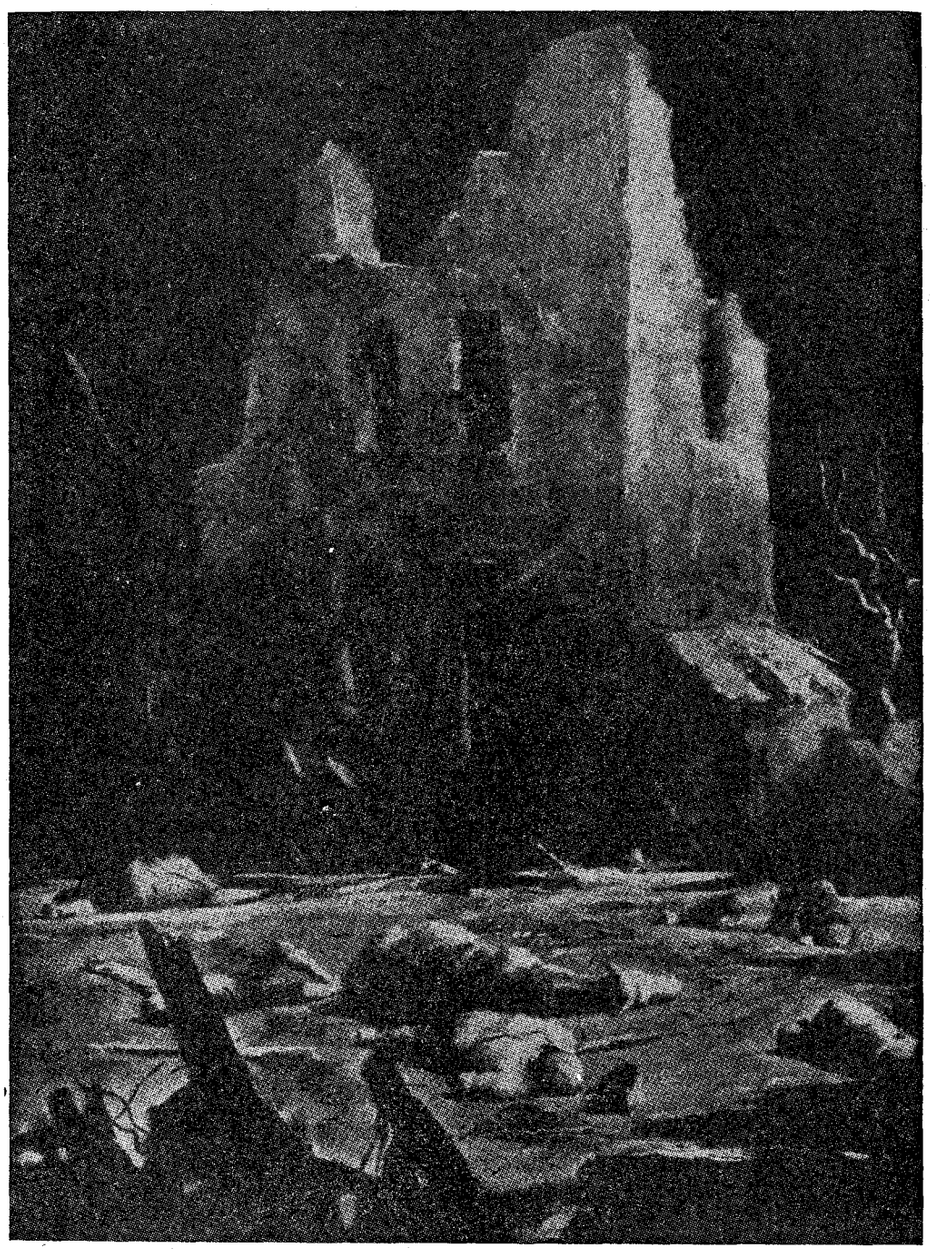
> The fight against fascism is the fight against the entire process of modern capitalism. . . . In particular, the drive to war, in close unity with the drive to fascist forms of organization and preparation for war within each country, becomes the more and more dominant character of the present stage. . . . This tendency runs through all capitalist countries without exception; and the advent of open fascism to power is only its final and completed expression. (R. Palme Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution,* 1934.)

The horrible slaughter of populations is a cataclysmic expression of the anarchy, decay, and inhumanity which are inherent in the last stages of capitalist society. This war is no visitation from Mars. "The way of life" for which we are being asked to fight is "the way of life" which produced this war. The final degeneration of liberalism is its inability, in the face of disaster, to envisage an alternative way for civilization. Even the ideal of a League of Nations has contracted into a Union of English-Speaking Peoples. Max Lerner, while supporting interventionist measures, admits that "in doing so we must not delude ourselves into thinking that we are entering a war between Right and Wrong, *or that we are likely to be successful in reorganizing the world after the war.*" (My italics.) Not only is the philosophy of liberalism today a merely defensive one; there is even confusion and uncertainty about what it is we are to defend. We must conserve. We must hold on to the past. Not even pie in the sky is promised, only crusts, and we are told to congratulate ourselves that the crusts are not, at the moment, of ersatz materials. There is a woeful absence of creative vision.

And this, nothing else, is the nature of the "moral crisis" which so many liberals bemoan. They accuse the people of cynicism, indifference, spiritual sloth. They storm at American youth because it is more conscious of its rights than of its "duties." But the liberals are railing at their own impotence to formulate a program which can enlist the fresh and abundant energies of the American people, a program, that is, which will succeed in removing for all time the curse of war and poverty and fascism. This impotence is inevitable. For the system of imperialism which liberalism is upholding today cannot, without a suicidal abdication, offer the people the democratization of life and the socialization of economy that will win the loyalty and enthusiasm of the masses. Our military experts maintain that the offensive tactic is the best defense; but our political leaders, our monopolists, and now our liberals tell us that a wide retreat, or at best a digging in, is the necessity of social survival. After we have taken care of Hitler we shall put our own house in order. But what if, in the meantime, the lights are put out, the pantry ransacked, and the cellar turned into a concentration camp?

What if that happens? In the next article, I shall point out that this is exactly what Lewis Mumford, among others, thinks ***should*** happen.

SAMUEL SILLEN.



Painting by Joseph Hirsh

Moonlight

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The Army Japan Fears Most

The democratic Eighth Route Army, Major E. F. Carlson writes, is "indoctrinated with the qualities of honesty, humility, selflessness, and truthfulness." A military man's estimate and tribute.

THE Eighth Route Army is the military instrument of the Chinese Communist Party. It has discarded the idea which prevails in Occidental armies that a leader, in order to be effective, must be accorded privileges and set on a pedestal. Leadership is based entirely on merit. Even the customary labels by which military categories are known in Western armies have been discarded. The group which is customarily known as "officers" is called "leaders." The balance of the men of the army are known as "fighters." Leaders who command a unit the size of a brigade, or larger, are referred to as "commanders."

Both leaders and fighters are indoctrinated with the qualities of honesty, humility, selflessness, and truthfulness. There is created in each individual the desire to do what is right. It is right to perform the duties which are assigned by competent authority. Therefore, the desire to perform one's duty becomes almost an obsession.

The word of a leader carries authority because it is universally recognized that it is the duty of those subordinate to him to execute his orders. When a subordinate approaches a leader of higher rank (authority) the manner of the former is formal and he salutes according to the custom which obtains in Western armies. But—when the subordinate is off duty he is on a basis of equality with the leader, and the two may sit down and chat together with the informality of any two human beings who are on an equal social basis. This condition of equality is not abused in practice, though the fact that it exists is of great importance in maintaining the morale of the army. The material condition of the leader is the same as is that of the fighter. The quality of the clothes, food, and sleeping accommodations does not differ.

In order that the rank and file of the army may attain political knowledge and a high ethical standard, the system of political commissars is employed. Each unit of the army has a political commissar whose authority is equal to that of the military commander. The commander and the commissar keep themselves informed of each other's professional activities, and they consult with each other before major decisions are made. Training periods for the troops are divided in the ratio of 60 percent military instruction to 40 percent political indoctrination. Troops are informed of the reasons why China is fighting Japan. They are taught to be truthful, honest, and selfless. They learn that the patient acceptance of hardship and privation is a form of self-sacrifice, and that self-sacrifice is the price of progress. The illiterate are taught to read and write. They unite in the singing of patriotic songs. Each company has a club in which opportunities are provided individuals to express themselves.

The rules and regulations for the government of the army are as follows, although here again persuasion is the guiding principle:

Major Rules

1. Execute the anti-Japanese patriotic principles.
2. Execute the instructions of higher leaders.
3. Do not take the smallest thing from the people.

Minor Rules

1. Ask permission before entering a house. Before leaving, thank the occupants for their courtesy and ask them if they are satisfied with the condition of the house.
2. Keep the house clean.
3. Speak kindly to the people.
4. Pay for everything that you use, at the market price.
5. Return all borrowed articles.
6. Pay for all articles which the army has broken or destroyed.
7. Do not commit a nuisance (dig latrines).
8. Do not kill or rob the captives.

Some of these rules would appear to us of the West as unnecessary. It must be remembered, however, that one of the main sources of the unpopularity of armies in China has been the contempt of "war lord" armies for the rights and property of civilians.

The forms of punishment are mild when compared to the types which obtain in Western armies. They are five in number: (1) criticism by leaders; (2) self-criticism in an open meeting; (3) confinement to a room; (4) relief from military duties; (5) expulsion from the army. Punishment is imposed in the order named. Usually it is not necessary to proceed beyond the second stage. Men are prone to recognize their mistakes when they inquire into their own attitudes and actions.

The policy of the "rule of reason" requires that leaders devote a considerable amount of time to conferences with their men. That the time is well spent is borne out by the accomplishments of the army. Probably no other military organization in the world is able to accomplish the long distances on foot, for example, that have become routine with these men. The reason lies in the desire which has been created in each individual to perform his duty. The emphasis is on volition.

Another potent force in creating universal good will and tolerance is the emphasis which is placed on the unimportance of material things. The pay of the army ranges from 1 Chinese dollar per month for the fighter, to 5 dollars per month for Chu Teh, the commander in chief. Thus, Chu Teh's monthly stipend is less than the pay of a private in the Kuomintang armies. Each month a check is received from the central government for the pay of the army, computed on the scale that is set for the Kuomintang armies. The balance which remains after the army has been paid according to the Eighth Route Army schedule is used to purchase food, medical supplies, and other items which are needed by all the units.

PATTERN OF RESISTANCE

The leaders of the Eighth Route Army feel that China can best offset the superiority which the Japanese enjoy in military equipment and organization by developing what they term "totalitarian resistance." The pattern is composed of three principal factors: The regular army; the partisans—armed and uniformed volunteers; the people, organized on the *hsien* (county) basis. Partisans are organized from the younger men in the regions in which the army operates. Their training and indoctrination follow that of the army. In time they become equally efficient.

The people are organized into societies within each *hsien* under the supervision of the magistrate, who is the chief civil officer of the *hsien*. Trained political leaders direct the political and ethical education of the societies. The people are taught the necessity for cooperation, and they are inspired with confidence in the ability of the nation to repel the invasion through persistent united action. Each person receives specific instructions as to the nature of the contribution he is to make to the pattern of resistance. Coordination of the activities of the groups is assured through a chain of responsibility which runs from the *hsien* to the *district* (ten to twelve *hsien),* and thence to the provincial headquarters and the headquarters of the army.

An important element in the scheme is the Village Self-Defense Corps. It is comprised of the older men of each village and it performs three major functions: (1) gathering information of the enemy; (2) employing measures to prevent the enemy from gaining information of their town troops, which is done by stationing sentries at strategic points on the roads and requiring all travelers to present passports signed by competent authority; (3) relaying the wounded from the battlefield back to the nearest hospital.

A self-sufficient economic system is superimposed on each district of ten or twelve *hsien*. The object is to assure that the people within each district are provided with a standard of living which will enable all to exist during the emergency. A further object is to decentralize the economy of the country so that if the Japanese penetrate one district the economy of the others will not be affected. Within each district production and distribution of essential products are controlled. Military commanders are responsible for providing assistance for the planting and harvesting of crops. Industrial cooperatives provide the

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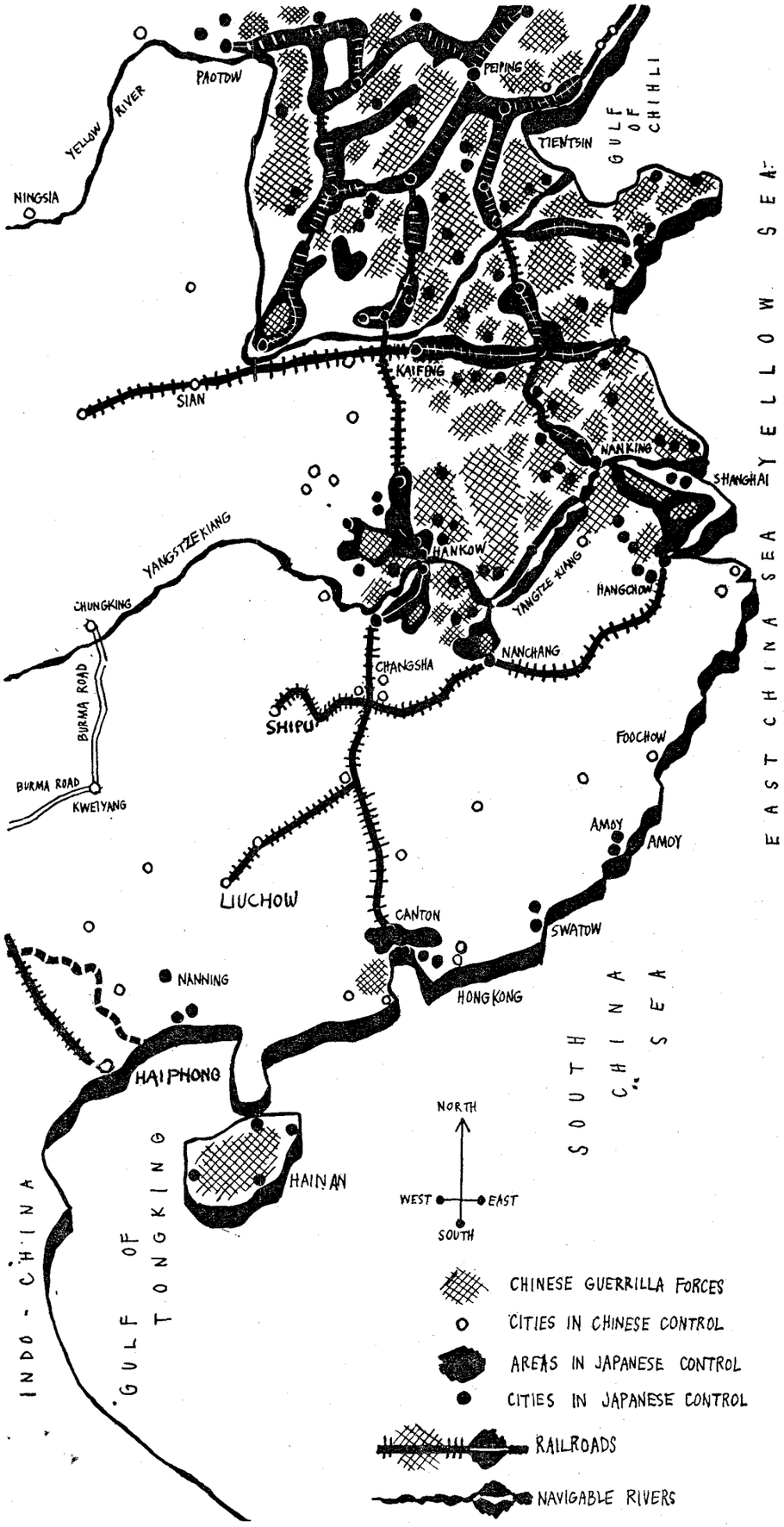

CHINESE GUERRILLA *warfare, as the above map shows, has continued in and behind the Japanese lines, paralyzing the invader's further penetration into the Chinese countryside. High water mark of recent guerrilla activities: around Canton in the south, and all through Shansi, Hopei, and Shantung provinces north of the Yellow River. Fighting has even reached to the outskirts of Peiping which is from where Japan started in July 1937.*

necessary manufactured products. Trade with adjacent districts is controlled, as is that with areas which lie outside the Chinese-governed districts behind the Japanese lines.

During the early months of the war there were some irregular bands of Chinese who took advantage of the collapse of civil control in those areas which had been penetrated by the Japanese to molest the people in their own selfish interests. Their actions impaired the confidence of the people in the legitimate partisans, and they made no contribution to the cause of Chinese resistance. The Eighth Route Army leaders have attempted either to convert or to eliminate these bands. If the leaders of these irregular groups agree to abide by the following conditions, they are accepted by the army:

1. Agree to fight the Japanese to the end.
2. Agree to accept orders.
3. Agree to accept political training and political leaders.
4. Agree not to harm the people.
5. Agree to balance their income and expenses.
6. Agree to accept the pay schedule of the army.
7. Agree that all members will share the same type of food.
8. Agree to prove their sincerity by attacking the Japanese.

During the first year and a half of the war the major emphasis of the effort of the Eighth Route Army was on the broadening and strengthening of the political base which was being built in the people. A sound base now exists in Shansi and Hopei provinces, and in parts of Shensi, Chahar, and Shantung. The original army of 45,000 has been increased to about 500,000 through the organization of partisans. The speed with which this pattern can be extended is in direct ratio to the speed with which political and military leaders can be trained. There are military and political training schools at Yenan (north Shensi), in North Shansi, and in Hopei. The course of instruction varies from four to six months. About ten thousand leaders can be trained annually.

The high ranking leaders of the Eighth Route Army are distinguished by their honesty, frankness, humility, and intelligence. They are men who have forsworn the comforts and material conveniences of life because of an urge to work for a better economic and social order for the underprivileged of China. During the ten years of civil war these leaders were compelled by necessity to devise ways and means for preserving themselves and the people they led. They learned to place their reliance in the spontaneous response of human beings to just and kindly treatment. They discovered that an earnest and alert body of men can employ mobility, subterfuge, and surprise to gain advantages over a sluggish though materially superior enemy.

Chu Teh, the commander in chief of the army, is a master organizer and tactician. His kindliness draws men to him, and he is beloved by every man of the army. Chou En-lai, who represents the army at the head-

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quarters of Chiang Kai-shek, is the scion of a mandarin family and a man of culture and education. He, too, is imbued with a certain nobility of character and humility of spirit. Peng Teh-hwai, the vice commander, is gruff in manner, but this is due to a dynamic quality in his character. He loathes procrastination and imperfection and is forever striving to eliminate them from the men of the army. Liu Pei-cheng, Ho Lung, Hsu Shang-chien, and Hsu Hai-tung are earnest and thoughtful men, careful in their planning and swift and thorough in the execution of plans.

The technical organization of the three divisions of the army corresponds to that of the Kuomintang forces. The guerrilla style of warfare is believed by the leaders to be most effective in neutralizing the superiority which Japan enjoys in modern military equipment and organization. The success of this style of warfare depends in large measure on the possession by the guerrilla forces of superior information regarding the enemy strength and movements. Pitched battles with strong enemy forces are avoided. When a strong Japanese column invades a certain area, the guerrilla forces move to the sides of the line of advance, attack the flanks and rear of the enemy, and cut his line of communication. At night the camps of the enemy are subjected to constant rapierlike thrusts, designed to disturb his rest and wear him out. Food is removed from the countryside ahead of his advance. Every device is employed which will reduce his strength and efficiency without undue cost to the guerrillas.

The Eighth Route Army leaders do not contend that these tactics are decisive or that they will win the war. The purpose is to protract the war and (1) make it impossible for the Japanese to control the country by political means; (2) make it impossible for Japan to exploit the natural resources of the country; and (3) make it as difficult as possible to move supplies along the Japanese lines of communication. Thus far they have been successful in realizing their aims. In Shansi Province, for example, the Japanese have tried for two years to conquer the province, cross the Yellow River, and invade Sian. Their effort has been defeated by the pattern of resistance devised and implemented by the Eighth Route Army.

The combat efficiency of the army has been greatly enhanced by the development of strong partisan groups. When the army entered Shansi in September 1937, it consisted of three divisions of fifteen thousand men each. The addition of partisans has raised the total number of men who are subject to the control of the leaders of the army to 500,000. The Enemy Works Department has succeeded in bringing over to the Eighth Route Army about five thousand Chinese levies who were recruited and trained by the Japanese in Hopei Province.

The New Fourth Army came into being in the spring of 1938, the work of organization taking place in eastern Kiangsi and southern Anhwei provinces. Its commander is Yeh Ting who, in the days of 1926-27 when the Nationalist forces were moving north from Canton, commanded the 24th Division of the Fourth Route Army (Ironsides Army). Yeh Ting joined with Chu Teh in the Nanchang revolt of October 1927, but went into retirement after the abortive Canton Commune of December of that year. The field commander of the New Fourth Army is Han Ying, who commanded the small force which the Red Army left to cover its evacuation of the Soviet areas of Kiangsi when it started on the Long March in 1934. Han Ying had kept his force together after that successful operation and had continued to resist the Kuomintang forces in eastern Kiangsi and western Fukien until the autumn of 1937. This force, plus former members of the Red Army who had turned to other pursuits after the army left Kiangsi, formed the nucleus of the New Fourth Army. It received its orientation from the leaders who had made guerrilla warfare successful in North China.

The New Fourth Army is now established in the area between Wuhu, Nanking, Chinkiang, and Hangchow. Two divisions are north of the Yangtze River. The same system of organizing the people and recruiting partisans is employed that has made the Eighth Route Army successful in the North. Progress has been slow because of the difficulty in securing arms and because of the poverty-stricken condition of the country. The strength of the army has been raised from the three thousand men with which it was started to about seventy thousand.

The extent to which the men of the Eighth Route Army have broken with Chinese tradition is unprecedented. Family ties have been cut. No attempt has been made to salvage pride at the expense of truth or efficiency. Lethargy and procrastination are regarded as cardinal sins. Time-honored courtesies have been cast aside. When a new policy is considered, the questions asked are: Is it right? Is it useful? Will it benefit the greatest number? If these answers are in the affirmative the policy is adopted.

The high morale and the high state of physical fitness tend to make this army unique in the military organizations of the Far East. The honesty, selflessness, and incorruptibility of the leaders appeal to the patriotism and noble instincts of men and women who are not in accord with the political ideology of the Communist group. The importance of the influence of this group on the cause of national salvation cannot be overestimated. Indeed, the experiments which are being conducted in education, government, and economic organization are destined to affect the whole of Chinese society when the present conflict is over. Politically they are developing representative government; economically they are developing a cooperative society; and socially they are developing an equitable social order which might be termed communal. At a time when large blocs of China's citizens felt that the nation was not sufficiently strong to resist a foreign invasion these leaders of the Eighth Route Army pointed the way. The results of their efforts are evident to all.

From "The Chinese Army," by Major Evans Fordyce Carlson, Institute of Pacific Relations, Inquiry Series.

South American Drive

WASHINGTON is losing no time in pushing its offensive in South America. After utilizing the Havana agreement in the deal for the eight British bases, the State Department is pressing several South American nations for military, naval and air bases on their soil. Foremost are the negotiations with Costa Rica for Cocos Island and with Ecuador for the Galapagos Islands, all west of the Panama Canal. The British Guiana base gives American airplanes a wide radius over northern Brazil, Venezuela, and Colombia, but negotiations are proceeding for additional concessions on the Brazilian bulge. Simultaneously, the chiefs of staffs of the Latin American countries are being invited by the War Department for discussions and tours of the Caribbean: Bolivian chiefs visited defense areas last week, Goes Monteiro, Brazilian chief of staff, is due in October. One of the little-noticed provisions of the Export-Import Bank's authorization of $500,000,000, approved by the President last week, is the permission to finance munitions sales to South American governments. As much as half of the $500,000,000 will go for this purpose. Simultaneously the American drive for trade goes on, reaching especial acuteness in the rivalry with British business. Argentina has just extended a $130,000,000 credit to Britain, and a British mission disembarked in Buenos Aires at the same time that Warren Lee Pierson, Export-Import Bank chief, also arrived by plane for discussions of an Argentine-American currency agreement.

In Rio de Janeiro, Jefferson Caffery, the American ambassador, is consulting with all the American trade attaches on the campaign for more business. American trade to South America jumped 64 percent in the first six months of 1940; but the British are not giving in, nor are the Germans. And because the South American countries are hampered in their trade with American business by unfavorable balances, Washington is stepping in with funds from the Treasury, and still toys with the idea of financing the purchase of agricultural surpluses. Brazil received $20,000,000 for the development of its steel production last week, after the United States Steel Corp. declined to finance the venture; a big deal for stabilizing the coffee market is in the offing, a deal with Argentina for the disposal of non-competitive surpluses. While allegedly for defense purposes, Washington is planning the purchase of one thousand tons of Bolivian tin per month, largely from the Hochshild interests. Capitalist government never revealed itself more clearly as the agency of Big Business than in the current drive for South American hegemony.

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Strictly Personal by RUTH McKENNEY

Crackle-Wackles Willkie

If Wendell Willkie doesn't win this election (which I hereby predict, single-handed, that he won't) it's going to be a fearful smack in the puss to the American advertising industry. Years now, the scientists from BBD and O (Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn to you mere laymen) and assorted other high-class emporiums of the toothpaste, wheatie and bad-smell trade, have been swaggering around midtown bars, boasting that given the chance, they could revolutionize stodgy old American politics and elect practically anybody president, via the proven techniques of the advertising trade.

Well, Wendell Willkie was their first big chance, and by the looks of things, it'll be their last. American politicians will think twice and run, not walk the next time they see a bright young man from *Fortune* or a student of psychology from Lord and Thomas, the well-known popularizers of the breakfast food guaranteed to make you a wow with the boys. Of course, in a way it's a pity the great experiment had to be made in 1940 with poor old Wendell, who was slated to be the fatted calf long ago by smarter if not better men than the boys from the advertising trade. After all, Batten and Barton may be able to sell kiddies bread by scaring them to death five times a week with a Gang-Buster program, but this is child's play compared to electing Wendell Willkie president when the owners of the product have decided to string along with Brer Fox up in the White House.

Not that the Willkie fighters didn't get off to a flying start. I wasn't in at the early conferences held last January and February, but it isn't hard to guess the general approaches to the problem. The advertising boys, being methodical, scientific types, probably listed under the title of "Sales Resistant Factors" the Willkie drawbacks.

(A) The sheet was undoubtedly headed: Unknown, except in radical and *New Republic* circles where his reputation is lousy.

(B) Is President of a Public Utility!!!!!

(C) Only public appearance of any importance consisted of cheating the eye-teeth out of the government and knifing TVA!!

(D) Corporation lawyer for God knows how long, famed as rough in the clinches among People Who Know.

(E) No schmaltz as a statesman. Have to face people asking, "Why should HE be president anyway?"

(F) Labor Record! Terrible!

(G) Lives on tony upper Fifth Avenue, comes from New York.

(H) Is a Democrat, or was anyway. Doesn't know any politicians except Democratic politicians. That's bad!

Well, after the boys had drawn up this gloomy but realistic appraisal, I can see them in my mind's eye breaking out the Scotch, yelling for more soda, sharpening up the red, blue, and green pencils (advertising men like to use colored pencils) and settling down to work. After all, they were used to having nine strikes against them before they started. Look at Crackle-Wackles. The office boy and six stenographers, ordered to eat Crackle-Wackles every morning for a week, unanimously agreed that Crackle-Wackles tasted like kerosene, and looked like dog biscuit. But were the scientists dismayed? No! And look at Crackle-Wackles now, right up in the first division, Class AAAA, Gracie Phutt's picture on every box, and the Crackle-Wackles hour, with Bing Sunshine and Gracie, a stand-by in every American home! After Crackle-Wackles, Wendell Willkie should be a mere falling off the log! Onward, men!

And you must admit their preliminary work was pretty smooth. The "Unknown" item, of course, was easy, with the entire American press praying hysterically for a Republican candidate with more zip than Taft and more sense than Dewey. The Commonwealth and Southern Corp. item, on the other hand, was a pretty tough nut all right, all right, but the boys came flying down to Rio with the flags fluttering and the bands playing on that entry, too. Item: Mr. Willkie's ingenuous frankness, such as holding his first press conference after the nomination in the board room of Commonwealth and Southern, right down in Wall Street. This is the well known admit-everything technique, so successful in selling Packards. "Of course it's more expensive!" the headline says, directly above a lush beauty draped over a fender. Etc.

Item: Mr. Willkie Faces the Fact, viz., his speeches about yes, I am being attacked because I am a business man! Well, I am proud to be a business man by hickory, is it wrong for a fellow to make money? This is the snob appeal technique, so useful in selling everything from cigarettes to cold cream to extremely intimate women's wearing apparel. The general idea is simple but terrific. The customer drools at the mouth when she sees Mrs. August Blotz, famous society leader and accomplished horsewoman, puffing a Camel amid her too-amusing neo-Victorian furniture. Next time the customer puts her money on the line for coffin nails she buys Camels (in theory anyway) to get in the swim. With Willkie, the American people are supposed to champ at the bit because *they* aren't all presidents of a public utility. On November 5 they are supposed to flock to the polls to vote for Wendell, the Mrs. August Blotz of politics. To which idea, h'mm, h'mm.

This is all background stuff, of course. The main scheme of the campaign was and is hung around an idea popular not only with the Madison Avenue public opinion molders, but also with Herr Hitler. Put in simple words it goes like this: people will believe anything, no matter how big the whopper, if you tell them often enough. In other words: lie if you have to, but make the Lie Colossal, otherwise it won't stick. The Willkie experts had plenty of experience with this technique when they came around to the distressing little facts of their Leader's Ritzy Fifth Avenue, New York background; his evil deeds with the TVA; his stinkeroo labor record. After all, Crackle-Wackles was sold, and I mean really sold, under the slogan, "Don't eat it because it's *good for you!* Have a dish of Crackle-Wackles every morning just because it's so GOOD!"

And if Crackle-Wackles are GOOD, then Wendell Willkie, by gum, can be a friend of labor, an Elwood, Ind., hometown boy who wants to see more and more public utility firms taken over by the people. In a way, you have to admire the Indiana angle on the Willkie campaign. It's colossal! For a man who hasn't set foot on Hoosier soil for nigh on to twenty years, I must say the experts did a high grade job, putting straw into Willkie's artistically rumpled hair. But the rest of the Great Deception isn't doing so good at current reading. Mr. Willkie is speaking his pieces manfully, but even the Madison Avenue boys can't wash away that little TVA job with a few flat statements about brightening up the old homestead with government electricity.

But of course I haven't mentioned the main difficulty with the Willkie campaign —and it's something the Madison Avenue gentry just can't seem to get a handle on. For the feeling persists among the sporting fraternity that Wendell was hired to take a dive. The race looks like "No Contest." After all, Willkie and his opposition agree on all the main points of the campaign. They are both pro-war, anti-labor, pro-draft, and what have you. Not even Bruce Barton can elect a President on the slogan, "I can do it better!" The Willkie experts, as they come down the home-stretch, are now frantically engaged in trying to sell the American people the mad notion that there IS a contest for the Presidency of the United States.

Crackle-Wackles was easy!

(Next week, Foxie Grandpa, the Wizard of the White House. Adv.)

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Big War, Little Dollar

Billions for arms, but who's paying? Frank J. Wallace says look to your pay envelope. The cost of "preparedness" comes out of your standard of living. What about real wages?

AMERICAN business men admire efficiency. Though they rend the heavens with protestations of loyalty to Britain, their model for wartime America is Nazi Germany. Naturally so, for the aims of finance capital in both countries are very similar. American imperialism, too, is bent on arming, and intends to take the cost of "preparedness" out of the living standards of the people. Wall Street intends further to depress these standards, increasing production at the same time, in order to meet German competition in the markets of the world. All this is admitted in select company.

For example, in its issue of June 22 *Business Week* published a memorandum which had been prepared for its own staff, entitled "The Economic Consequences of a Hitler Peace." In the issue of August 31 a statistician of the Federal Reserve Board reproved the editors. Their memorandum had considered the possible effects on the profits of American business from the competition of a Nazi-controlled Europe. But it had been satisfied with only a vague reference to "downward pressure on the domestic standards of living." This, says the correspondent, is beating around the bush: "If an 'economic war to the end' is to be waged, the standard of living in the combatant countries *must* approach the same level . . . long before 'the end' is reached." And since in a fascist state that standard cannot rise much if at all, "it seems to me, therefore, that the American standard inevitably must decline."

Of the last war Lenin said:

> Both America and Germany "regulate economic life" in such a manner as to create a *military prison* for the workers (partly for the peasants) and a *paradise* for the bankers and capitalists. Their regulation consists in "tightening the screw" on the workers to the extent of near famine, and securing for the capitalists (secretly, in a reactionary, bureaucratic way) *larger* profits than those they had before the war.

An examination of the plans for M-Day, a study of the increasing breaches of our civil liberties, only sharpen the comparison of the America of 1941 to a "military prison for the workers" if the present plans of American imperialism proceed unchecked. Even if the trade unions are permitted to exist, so long as the Greens and Hillmans are playing their role as the "labor lieutenants of capitalism" the costs of the war will be saddled on the backs of the people.

That the war boom in the United States will neither create prosperity nor solve our unemployment was the thesis of my previous article, "Can Armaments Bring Prosperity?" in NEW MASSES of September 24. Let us see what America's war-brink economy will do to the standard of living of the American people.

Naturally we have first to determine the level of income for a decent standard of living. In his new book, *The Bottlenecks of Business,* Thurman Arnold puts it this way: "The minimum on which a family of three can purchase a fair share of the goods advertised over the radio and in our better magazines is approximately $2,500 a year." But only about 13 percent of American families enjoy this income or higher, about as many as there are in the state of New York, according to the National Resources Committee. And 64 percent of all American families live on an income of $1,500 a year or less, admittedly below the subsistence level. In other words, that highly touted American standard is a privilege restricted to very few of our people now.

LOWER LIVING STANDARDS

It follows, therefore, that if the supply of commodities is restricted either by prices rising and carrying them out of reach or by their consumption in war industries, the living standards of Americans must fall. If prices rise and wages do not keep pace, the same result ensues. Even if prices and wages remain stationary and only taxes and rents go up, again the cost of living rises. If certain elementary services are cut, like education for example, that too represents a blow to living standards. Now let us see what is going to happen.

Take wages first. Of course, unless we know what the price level is, the money wages alone have no meaning. But assume that prices stay put. Consider that there is a vast "surplus" of workers, some ten million. The great majority of them, as I have shown in my preceding article, can expect no jobs either from the war industries or from an expansion of consumer goods manufacturing. In the face of such a "supply and demand" situation in available labor power, where is the bargaining position of the working class? Organized labor in the United States has far to go before it can boast of bringing wages up to a decent minimum. And only 15 per-

Mandell

"Here it is a week since Browder's speech and Archie's still in bed."

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cent of the workers are organized. Further, what leadership can the workers expect from the enemies within their own ranks when prices begin to rise? There will have to be a far more militant labor movement and the elimination of the Quislings in labor's ranks for wage levels to be raised and protected during the years ahead of us.

The wonder child of all 1940 war industries is aviation. Take Curtiss-Wright, for example. This company made a profit of $6,235,969 in the first six months of 1940. It sold $46,838,891 of planes and engines in this period. It had unfilled orders in June amounting to $248,668,549. Yet while the US Department of Labor average for the aircraft industry is 73 cents an hour, Curtiss-Wright is paying most of its workers 55 cents an hour. The tool makers in their Paterson plant represent about 5 percent of the workers and earn from $1.00 to $1.25 an hour. But the rest of the workers draw from $24 to $30 a week without overtime. When Bethlehem Steel raised its minimum wage scales to conform to the Walsh-Healey act and assure its fat war contracts, that new minimum was the munificent 32 cents an hour.

Wages will have to withstand many a sly attack as well as frontal assaults. There is talk already of a "shortage" of skilled workers and with it comes the demand for the training of apprentices. Let me list some of the consequences of this trickery: big business will use this phony "shortage" to employ unskilled workers at lower pay; they will destroy union standards; they will go on to employ more women and children at lower rates, replacing men; this drive points up their arguments for conscripting labor. I am not drawing these conclusions. They were formulated long ago by the 1917 convention of the AFL, which faced the same propaganda of cunning and patriotic industrialists. The convention defined a labor shortage. It said there is a shortage when there is a "situation in which the number of positions to be filled exceeds the number of applications for work in all classes." Apply that definition today, with 1940 productive capacity in mind. Consider that in December 1939 American industry exceeded the top records of production in 1929—and with ten million unemployed. There is no shortage of labor, skilled or unskilled. But the revival of the old "shortage" blues uncovers another danger to wages lurking in the plans of finance capital.

When papa brings home his weekly pay envelope there's a statistical termite inside nibbling at the bills. It's the cost-of-living index. Only when wages are evaluated in terms of the price level can we determine the "real wages"—what the money will buy. It is here that the most insidious attack on the standard of living breeds. Prices go up. A few cents more on sugar. A nickel on meat. A penny on bread. A five-dollar bill on a suit or an overcoat. The landlord beats his breast over the taxes and raises the rent. And that pay envelope shrinks although the amount remains the same or even, though rarely, goes up a little. Basing himself on a study of our economy in the first imperialist war, Addison T. Cutler, in *Science & Society* (Summer 1940 issue), puts it this way:

> Not only must the total of production be increased, but civilian consumption must be sharply curtailed in order to permit resources, equipment, and man power to be diverted to war production. Under the class relations of capitalism, the owners of the means of production are induced by profits to devote their property to war purposes, while the mass of the people are induced by "patriotism" or rationing or inflation to work harder for lowered real incomes.

Since I am writing in the early days of what may be the greatest armaments program the capitalist world has ever seen, the indications of the price trend are still meager. The US Department of Labor said on August 2 that the cost of living in thirty-two principal cities rose 7 percent from March to June 15. Early in September the purchasing agents for American industries were reported to be covering their requirements for months ahead as they conceded that the price rise was finally starting. The experience of our Canadian neighbors is in point. The dominion is also supplying Britain with war materials and enjoying a first-class war boom. Accordingly the wholesale price index of industrial materials went from 65.1 in August 1939 to 78.5 in August 1940. Textiles rose from 66.6 to 83.7 in the same period. Incidentally the prices of Canadian farm products advanced by a tiny fraction, from 61.8 to 62.8, which means that the farmers are being hit particularly hard by the rise in the cost of products they must buy. You can read in every business paper a bland assumption that the rise is on the way. And after all these house organs of finance capital ought to know. Their bosses have planned it. (Headline, *Annalist* of Sept. 5, 1940: HIGHER MEAT PRICES EXPECTED TO EXPAND PACKERS' EARNINGS.)

But never fear, children, we are going to be "protected" against "unreasonable" price rises. That is the function of Miss Harriet Elliott, consumer advisor on the National Defense Advisory Committee. And here is the reassuring inside tip *Business Week* gives us in its issue of September 7: "Whatever fears business might have had that Miss Elliott might turn out to be a trouble maker have been allayed by her common sense approach to her job. . . . Thus far the only group that might be disappointed is the militant consumer wing." In her work, we are told, "she wants to discourage formation of 'amateur' defense councils with vigilante tendencies" because they might become an organized movement to fight profiteering.

HOUSING SHORTAGE

The average family spends over one-quarter of its income for rent. Will the preparations for war raise the bill? The army and navy officials estimate that housing in excess of $300,000,000 will be required at federal and private armaments plants. (Incidentally, the Defense Commission is quietly trying to push the US Housing Authority out of that picture; it's a little too social-minded.) Already there is a housing shortage in towns where munitions industries are being established or enlarged. Workers in Seattle are living in trailers. Workers are traveling twenty and thirty miles to get to work in the aircraft plants in California; they cannot find homes nearer the factories. A survey by *Business Week,* issue of August 31, uncovers many housing problems. About the cities of Davenport, Moline, and Rock Island the magazine says, "Throughout the tri-city area rents are soaring and families are doubling up." Youngstown reports a shortage so great "that shacks are being built out of store-box materials by squatters who have landed jobs in steel mills." Says this publication after citing other examples, "Plainly, unless government controls are exerted to keep the lid down, building costs will go up sharply as the country tries to achieve a normal ten-year plant construction program in a year, and at the same time create enough dwelling units to house several million workers who migrate to staff the new plants. Considerable increases in rental levels will follow the defense orders that a district receives."

What happens to the low rent housing schemes? What becomes of slum clearance? These socially useful aims are junked. New housing will be expensive. Rents will rise in the old. Building costs will go up despite the efforts of Thurman Arnold, who says in his new book, "Although the decline in the volume of construction was conspicuously greater than that of most other industries during the depression which began in 1929, the level of building material prices and of building costs fell less than that of other prices." (Since Mr. Arnold has already shelved other price-fixing prosecutions in favor of jailing trade union leaders, we can predict with some certainty that in this "hour of need" for new plant construction the building industry will garner its profits unscathed.)

If we can foresee no appreciable decline in unemployment, no return of prosperity, what about relief? Well, there's the food stamp plan. Milo Perkins, Surplus Marketing administrator, estimates that five million will be getting stamps by Christmas, and there are still fifteen million eligible for food stamps if Congress will provide the funds. But Congress is busy voting billions for war and conscription. So let's look at the standard of living of the food stamp recipients. While those on relief spend at present about 5 cents a meal for food, those getting stamps spend about 7.5 cents a meal. Meanwhile, in July 1940, there were 555,000 fewer workers on WPA, 195,000 less on PWA, as against July 1939, representing a drop in these payrolls of $42,000,000 for one month.

Conscription will further reduce American living standards. Already banks and installment houses are getting tight on loans to

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possible conscripts. DRAFT BILL HELPS LOAN SHARKS is the way one business paper headlines it. In its August bulletin, the International Juridical Association points out that there is no protection for a conscript facing financial obligations such as a mortgage, lease, etc. And it adds, "So-called protective clauses for workers necessary to defense industries may actually operate as strikebreaking machinery." What conscription will mean in scantier meals, worse housing, and a thousand denials of simple comforts to households all over the country is difficult to estimate, but its effects will be visible enough.

SMALL BUSINESS MEN

And here let me point out to those small business men who are whooping it up for war that they will suffer doubly. Higher prices will reduce their sales. Conscription will relieve them of customers and reduce the buying power of many families. And as the masses of the people feel the pinch there will be speeded up that process which is already spelling doom for the small retailer (and the small manufacturer)—the chain stores with their huge buying power and marketing tactics will capture the lion's share of retail business. There's a foretaste of that in the rural areas. Farmers are getting for their products 40 percent below the estimated "fair parity price" according to the Department of Labor release of August 2. The index of prices received by farmers stood at 154.8 in June of this year as against 165.3 in June 1939. What happens? The sales of Montgomery Ward and Sears, Roebuck for June were $106,417,000 against $98,070,000 for June 1939. The mail order houses went ahead by 8 percent, while rural sales of general merchandise showed only half the gain and there too the beneficiaries were the national and sectional chains. There will be no prosperity for the farmer in this war economy; instead there must come a sharper decline in the standard of living on the small farm.

It is possible only to guess at what will happen to the less material items which comprise our living standards. When imperialism talks in terms of world perspectives, of what import are playgrounds and housing and health stations? Take education for example. Between 1930 and 1936 the total expenditure for education per pupil enrolled dropped from $89.84 to $74.38. The $10,000,000 cut in the budget for schools in New York state is a slash of recent memory. To the warmakers athirst for profit and power, education and all culture are "non-essentials." (That's what most consumer goods industries were called during 1917-19, and they received supplies accordingly.)

Try as they will to blur class differences and sing "national unity," this armaments program is being speeded in the interests of those who will reap its profits and not for the masses who will sacrifice their health, their well-being, and possibly their very lives. To see what will happen to the standard of living of the American people, let us project into the future the trends already enumerated. How to do that? Keep in mind our vast unemployment. Remember the impoverishment of the majority of our farm population. Recollect that neither condition obtained in 1917. Then study what happened in 1917-20.

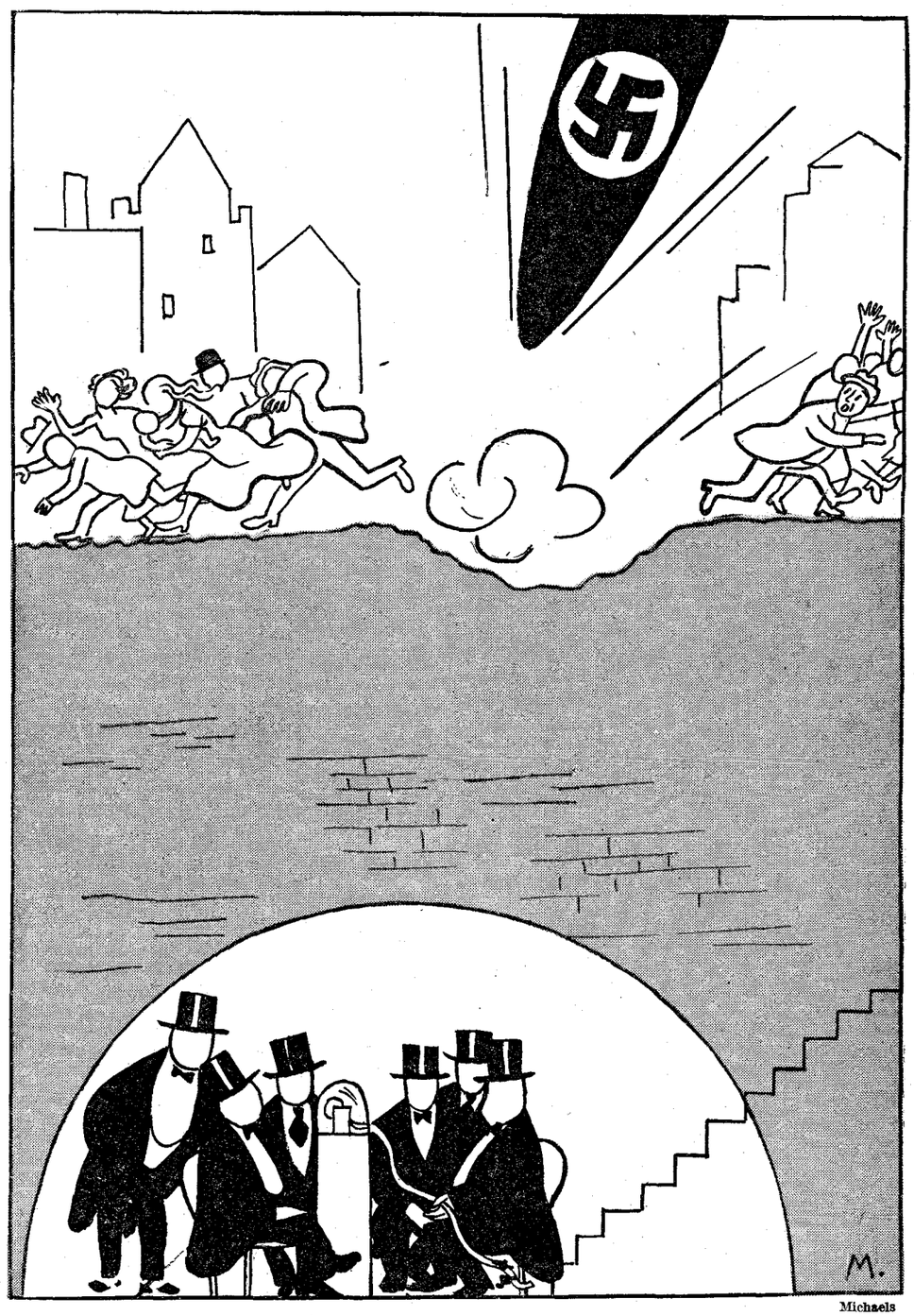
FRANK J. WALLACE.

Keep Cool, Boys!

"FRIGIDAIRE division (Lord & Thomas) of General Motors reports that its receipt of a $20,000,000 machine gun order will not interfere with manufacture of its regular products. . . . Currently, Frigidaire, intending to sell more than 600,000 refrigerator units this year, is engaged in a sales drive on the theme, 'Finish Forty Fighting.' "—*Advertising news in the New York "Sun," September 24.*

Loyal-Opposition Note

"HE [Willkie] not only insists on saying what he believes when he speaks, but he refuses to let what he believes remain unsaid. Nor is he deterred from doing this by the fact that his opponent, Mr. Roosevelt, already has advocated the same thing in which he believes."—*Frank Kent in his column, "The Great Game of Politics," Baltimore "Sun."*



Michaels

News Item—Bank of England Directors, Safe in Vault, Vote 6% Dividend.

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The Grand Duchy of du Pont

How the dynamite dynasty runs the state of Delaware. Mr. Willkie journeys to Wilmington. Where men make gunpowder and whipping posts stand.

Wilmington, Del.

MY CYNICAL FRIEND remarked: "You don't have to worry about Hitler's conquering the world. The du Ponts will beat him to it." He laughed and glanced over his right shoulder at the booth where a little woman with dark glasses was sitting. She seemed innocuous enough, and he added: "Everyone knows they're in the *I.G. Farbenindustrie* in Germany. And Imperial Chemicals in England. And out in Borneo and the other East Indies with US Rubber. And ever since Eleuthere shipped over from France, they've kept their hand in the old country. Now they're opening a big office in Buenos Aires, and everyone is studying Spanish for the conquest of South America. Say . . . they've got so much money that you can't compute it. And power? They're above parties, above governments, and above the war."

Down in this neck of the Delaware woods, they don't talk about "dynamite" or "powder." They talk about "war industries." Beginning above Chester, Pa., extending ten miles inland from the Delaware River on the Pennsylvania side, crossing the river to the New Jersey shore and covering an area twenty by twenty-five miles, is the War Country—a huge industrialized core which is now being rapidly converted into the productive center for the vast American military machine. The other day, contracts for $33,335,500 worth of tanks went to the Baldwin Locomotive Works above Chester. The great Sun shipyards of Joseph N. Pew, Jr., are making tankers for supply. Pusey & Jones, down here in Wilmington, are busy with orders for dredges. Malleable Iron Company's Wilmington plant, now in process of organization by the CIO, is making war machines.

Over the river, on the Jersey side, from Penn's Grove to Carney's Point to Deep Water, there in the heart of the du Pont empire, production throbs with life. And also with fear of death. Workers in this territory have no illusions. They know how hard life is, how small the pay, long the hours, dangerous the task. Many died back in '17 in a great explosion. News of the Kenvil disaster of early September sent a shudder throughout the community. Here on the ground, among the men and the women who must live on the bounty of the du Ponts and their allies, you find a fatalism. "A man's gotta live, ain't he? There's a job over there—I'd take it if I knew how. Sure there's a speed up. Oh, they take precautions, all right—they don't want no bloody mess. They're smart, they are. But the way they're building, it's a stroke of luck no more of us are knocked off."

You hear the drumming patter of such comment all the way from Penn's Grove to Wilmington itself. For here, where the explosives are made and where plans and plots are also conceived for the world empire of du Pont, many things are taken for granted. And one is that prosperity—you know the jade—has swished around the corner of Market Street, swinging her bag. It's wartime, boomtime. Elsewhere, from Addis Ababa to the latest crater hole on Regent street, people are being bombed to death. But here in Wilmington, prosperity—for those lucky enough to get a job.

THE WORKERS around here don't talk much. But they know their facts. They know their du Ponts. They know, for instance, that the du Pont profits speeded up during the 1914-18 war years at a rate 256 times greater than in 1913. Keep that in mind as we wander in the backyard of the Imperial Duchy of du Pont. It is a key to what the present war means to the du Ponts and to their plans for ultimate world power. Keep in mind, too, the generalized analysis which Julian Webb gave the readers of NEW MASSES in the issue of Sept. 10, 1940, the manner in which William S. Knudsen and Edward R. Stettinius, General Motors and US Steel executives, allied to Morgan and Morgan's ally, du Pont, have assumed command of the vast multi-billion-dollar war production drive. And with these thoughts in mind, let's study closeup the du Pont scheme of things.

WHEREVER THE DU PONTS go, the company town goes with them. Saturday night in a Jerseyside bar, an Italian laborer speaking: "I fill in three applications. It's all right then, I get the job." Over a beer, talk of how black powder is made of men's kidneys, lungs, and guts. The Italian says: "They don't want people from the Delaware side in the plants. Only office people. They don't have no unions, just the Association. Grievance committees? What you talking about?"

Riding in a battered motor car early Sunday morning over the wide Governor Printz highway beside the river: "I've seen 'em come out of the dyes buildings with faces and clothes blue or green all over. That stuff seeps into clothing and pores, rots your tissues and kidneys."

As they speak, the workers, the shape of things to come emerges for all America, a picture of what du Pont domination means. To many Americans the du Pont shadow seems slim indeed. To Wilmington it is all-pervasive, has substance, is penetrating, moves silently into every corner of life. It is the word you must not say, the secret police system which marshals opinion, softly chides, strikes quietly and effectively. It is a paternalism which offers controlled education, controlled recreation, controlled life insurance. You can't kick, if you are a du Pont worker. You daren't kick.

The trick is simple. My Italian acquaintance spoke of a weeding out of all possible dissenters, a watchful spy system, a policy which embraces to kill. Of vast stretches of territory bought in order to keep trespassers five, ten miles away from closely guarded gates. Of eight years in a du Pont plant, the average work life of the du Pont employee. And of how, when the kidneys clog and the heart skips beats, the du Ponts, always careful to prevent their enemies from multiplying, never fire. Slowly the worker is skidded down the greased slide to lighter work at lower pay, then to a layoff, then to still lighter work, then—gently — into joblessness. The insurance—$1500 in Metropolitan Life—paid for by the du Ponts while he was on the payroll, lapses now when it is most needed. And the man, a husk, lies like chaff on the soil, worthless.

THE DU PONTS RECOGNIZE that workers are the base of their mighty pyramid. Without workers, the du Pont factories, research laboratories, mills, mines, and offices cannot function. The du Ponts are not stupid, in the Ford sense. They need no service corps. They do not seek to crush; they seek to squeeze, gathering all the juices of the man, retaining for their own profit all the good, tossing aside the worthless residue. At Deep Water, at Carney's Point, in the Krebs paint plant, at the laboratories where chemists are ordered to find short cuts to higher profits, workers speak softly, avoid strangers. Pay is somewhat higher than elsewhere. Union organizers are not allowed within the du Pont fortresses, with the exception of complacent AFL building trades agents, representing workers not employed by the du Ponts but by outside contractors.

"We take what we get—pay. We got but one life to give for du Pont. Of course we take a chance . . . we can get burned by acid, or like some, get that tetraethyl lead in our pores or splotched with chemical dyes . . . but after a while it's all in a life time. . . .

SPEAKING of Roosevelt's shadow-boxing opponent, Wendell L. Willkie—Willkie attended a Commonwealth & Southern directors' meeting here in Wilmington early this year. C. & S. is a Delaware corporation as are hundreds of others, for the Delaware charter fee is a trifling sum and the Delaware legislature, du Pont controlled, has never passed a state corporation income tax. Well, after Willkie talked business, it is said that he drifted over to the du Pont Hotel and talked turkey with the three brothers, Pierre S., Irenee, and Lammot. They asked him ques-

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tions and he gave the right answers. Wilmington says the three Grand Dukes of Delaware O.K.'d Wendie, and forthwith helped their Morgan allies to organize his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. Word leaked out of the local telegraph office that hundreds of those "We Want Willkie" telegrams were sent from the du Pont Hotel to Philadelphia's convention hall. Donald Morton, chief du Pont fixer in the great eastern industrial states, visited the convention to help swing the deal. And ex-Sen. Dan Hastings staged a comeback. The du Ponts, you will recall, organized the Liberty League and backed Landon in 1936. Roosevelt swept Landon into oblivion and then set forth to "purge" certain cantankerous senators, including Dan Hastings. The duPonts, following their usual policy of absorbing and taking mastery over their enemies, began to move slowly and silently, as is their wont, toward their present position inside the White House and with their key men in the councils of state. When indiscreet Dan Hastings blared forth against FDR, they dropped Dan Hastings. But Dan reappeared inside the du Pont preserve this year at Philadelphia, where, it is said, he used certain unfailingly successful forms of inducement to move stubborn delegates toward that last ballot for Willkie. And it is also bruited that thousands of du Pont employees wandered into the Philadelphia convention hall and chanted in unison "We Want Willkie!" from the galleries.

MANY ARE the offices in the vast du Pont building. One is a branch of Francis I. du Pont & Co., commodities—including munitions—and brokerage. Newspapers were unkind enough to reveal that a desk in the New York office at No. 1 Wall St. was occupied by Avelino Montes, Jr., an expert on how to ship commodities—including munitions—to certain Latin American countries and thence to Franco's Spain and even to Italy and Germany. Another desk-holder is Jose M. Mayorga, representative in America of Juan March, the Spanish millionaire who backed General Franco's assault on the Spanish republic. Young Señor Mayorga maintains a town house in New York, a country home in New Jersey. He makes, it is said, $100,000 doing something or other for the du Ponts.

IF YOU EVER NEED an easy index to the progress of the du Pont fortunes, look up Christiania Securities Corp., holding company for 40 percent of the du Pont empire. The three brothers are in it, and it is headed by their henchmen, R. R. M., and Walter Carpenter. CSC stock, sold over the counter, stood at 2500 before the war drive. It now is 2760 bid, 2860 asked. Among many other corporations which it controls are Wilmington's evening *Journal* and morning *News*. Did I hear someone say "freedom of the press"?

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS . . . why, even Philadelphia's David J. Stern was unable to start a newspaper in Wilmington. Certain people told him that he'd get no advertising from Wilmington stores. Moreover the du Pont papers hold the three press association franchises, UP, AP and INS.

A CHECK of directorates shows that the du Ponts head or are prominent in all local banks. In this fashion, they control all Wilmington retail business. They also own so much land that no unfriendly industrial organization can enter Delaware. They kept Ford from building in Wilmington, hence his choice of Chester, Pa., as an eastern base. On the other hand, in token of their control of General Motors, administrative offices of the Detroit motor firm will be moved to Wilmington as soon as necessary building space can be provided.

FACTORY WORKERS who are not on the du Pont payroll are flocking into the CIO. Nearly 400 employed in the Malleable Iron plant joined last week. The du Ponts place no obstacles in the way of union organizers in Delaware, provided they do not try to organize du Pont.

THE DU PONTS BELIEVE in democracy and maintain its forms. Voters are paid off on the streets on Election Day, $1 and $2 a vote. Down among the lower ranks, the Democratic and Republican battles for jobs take on quite a sanguinary hue. Up above, however, it's du Pont *vs.* du Pont and all for the greater glory of du Pont. Voters are cynical—"What I want to know is—will I have a job if Willkie is elected?"

"It's like this—the du Ponts control the Chamber of Commerce, because du Pont banks control business. And business men are in the Council, so they control the Council. The banks own or control homes through mortgages, lend money for building, and so they have you coming or going. As for taxes, Pierre S. has spent his life trying to find loopholes in the tax laws. I know of one man who owed a million in state income tax on the books, but wrote it off by deducting his federal tax. I'm not saying what his name is. Tax surplus is supposed to go into a state sinking fund for housing. Last year it didn't—the banks got the surplus as interest, and a state housing program never saw the light of day."

THE DU PONT'S CITY COUNCIL in Wilmington has done nothing to increase the miserable $5.00 weekly relief allowance for a family of five. Housing conditions in Wilmington's east end are unbelievably bad. The du Ponts have no money for the east end poor, who live in heatless homes, with outside toilets, shielded by seventy-five-year-old walls.

The old corner saloons, however, are well-heated, lighted, and patronized, for they are cheerful places in the slum gloom.

ON SATURDAY, September 21, five men were lashed at the Farnhurst workhouse just outside Wilmington. Four of them were chronic lawbreakers; one was just a poor guy who got whipped. Delaware not only never repealed the ancient colonial law which provides for corporal punishment; Delaware uses this law quite frequently. But holdups go on, and crime is not infrequent, especially in the slum section where it isn't always easy to eat.

HEAD OF WILMINGTON'S POLICE is Commissioner of Safety Cavanaugh, anti-Red expert, who was summoned from Miami to Wilmington. He knows all the tricks but thus far the du Ponts have cramped his style. Their method is to list and blacklist all dissidents, to make it impossible for progressives to rent halls, to send them out to the woods when they seek a permit for a street meeting. Speech is thus free, the right to assembly permitted, and everything is hunky-dory in Wilmington—for the record.

ALTHOUGH FIGURES never lie, Wilmington is truly the richest city per capita in the US, yet the average person is poor. The trick is accomplished by adding the vast income of the small group of du Ponts and their executives to the city's total wealth and then dividing by the total population. But the du Ponts will never share their wealth in that fashion.

SLOWLY, AS YOU SPEND TIME in Wilmington, the shape of the du Pont scheme emerges. From the great mansions down to the humblest ancient brick houses, all things are dictated by the needs of du Pont, all except the will of workers. The workers, when they can meet, when they and the union come together, are eager to join hands. They look forward to the coming of an organizing drive in chemicals by John L. Lewis' own United Mine Workers of America. For they recognize that the only power which can restore to them their democracy and successfully challenge the du Pont system of industrial authoritarianism is industrial democracy, trade unionism of the kind that has changed the face of Detroit, of McKeesport, and of many another American town during recent years.

If in Wilmington may be seen the shape of things to come—a possible authoritarian dictatorship of the du Pont type for all America—there may also be seen the future union city. The taxi driver said: "I work thirteen hours a day. Sure we'd join the union, the whole bunch of us. But they ought to organize the other two companies, too. Then we'd all be sure of better pay and shorter hours." The old-timer, who had lost most of his teeth, told me: "You can get a job over there in the shipyards. Say you're a skilled helper. Remember, skilled. There's no place for the unskilled . . . anywhere. I worked up at Ford—that's hell—and over at du Pont, too. That's a special kind of hell. Union? It oughta be . . . it oughta be. . . ."

JAMES MORISON.

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In Socialist America–II

Corliss Lamont's views on how socialist planning would operate in the USA. His reply to the query: "Would there be but one party in America if socialism comes?" Other questions answered.

QUESTION: In Russia there is only one party. That does not seem to me to be very democratic. Would there be but one party in the United States should socialism be established here?

In the first place, I want to repeat what I have said before in this series: that it is wrong to assume that every feature of Soviet socialism is going to be duplicated in the socialism of America and other countries. The more general and fundamental principles of socialism must of course be established in every nation, but their particular application will differ somewhat in each case, depending on the characteristic traditions, political institutions, and economic development of the people concerned.

In the second place, yes, you are right in saying that there is only one political party in the Soviet Union. This is the Communist Party. Leaving aside the complex question of precisely how far democracy in its various forms has developed in the USSR, except to remark that that development has been extraordinarily far-reaching, we can explicitly assert that the existence of one party does not necessarily imply undemocratic procedures. One can neither wish nor expect socialist democracy in Soviet Russia or anywhere else to follow the pattern of the democracies, or rather pseudo-democracies, with which the world is already acquainted. And it is appropriate to recall that in America itself the theory of the Founding Fathers did not make a place for parties. Two distinct and functioning political parties did not come into existence here for a good fifteen years after the Revolution; and George Washington was unopposed in the first two elections for President.

The fact is that, as James Madison, fourth President of the United States, wrote, the most common source of political parties "has been the various and unequal distribution of property," in other words, the class nature of society. Now when a classless society comes into being, as under full-fledged socialism, there disappear those different and antagonistic class interests that constitute the economic basis of parties under capitalism. It seems probable to me, however, that during the transition period to complete socialism there will continue to be political parties in America, if we succeed in carrying through that transition by non-violent means. And it may well be that parties, at least in form, will continue indefinitely beyond this transition period. That is a matter which only the future evolution of socialism in the USA can finally determine.

Q. Your pieces on socialism are right fine, but how do we get there, Mr. Lamont?

Well, one can't squeeze everything into three brief articles; and my primary purpose was to present a general blueprint of what socialist planning would be like after it had been set up. The problems of transition to a socialist society would demand a whole series by themselves. But as a matter of fact I *have* been treating of these problems to some degree in certain of the previous questions. And I hope I have made clear that even in these tempestuous times my reasoned faith remains strong in the ability of the American people to develop and extend their very imperfect and incomplete democracy into socialism through peaceful and parliamentary procedures.

Whether or not my hopes in this respect are fulfilled, the greatest need at present for the achievement of socialism is the continuous education, in every possible form, of the American workers, farmers, and middle class people on the economic and cultural benefits that socialist planning would bring to this country. For *no* method of transition to a socialist society can be successful unless sufficiently numerous elements of the population have been won over to the socialist program.

Q. I read your articles with a good deal of interest, especially the part in which you speak of the expansion of education, the enlargement of civil and political liberties, and especially of cultural opportunities. I agree that this is desirable, but have been led to understand that under socialism I would be obliged to forego any opinions I have regarding political ideologies unless these opinions conformed to general Marxist principles. But suppose I believe in the essentials of the socialist system, economic planning and abolition of the profit order, yet feel that there should be a place in society for the individualist, who could only be happy going own way. What would become of me?

I think that we have a pretty good chance of making the transition to socialism in the United States, with its long and strong (though by no means untarnished) tradition of civil liberties and democracy, through the peaceful processes of education and the ballot. If we are able to go ahead in this way, no dictatorship will be necessary here, as it has been in a nation like Soviet Russia with its unpropitious past of czarist tyranny, semi-feudal economy, and cultural backwardness. Yet it is to be remembered that revolution itself, as in the America of 1776 and the Russia of 1917, is often an expression of the democratic spirit and the only means of establishing true democracy. And even the curtailment of freedom of opinion that accompanies socialist or Communist dictatorship is a temporary thing, since the dictatorship itself is temporary and withers away as soon as the need for it ceases. In any case our American socialist government will have to be extremely vigilant and prepared to suppress instantly any counter-revolutionary violence by the capitalists, even though such suppression may entail stern and dictatorial measures.

As an individualist only happy going his own way, you will be at liberty under American socialism to disagree with Marxist principles, so long as you do not indulge in counter-revolutionary *acts*. You will also find, with genuine economic freedom established, many more alternatives of action open to you than under capitalism. The greatest aim of a socialist society is to develop the highest possible type of individuality, though I am sure you would agree that this in itself implies certain social limitations on the individual. Thus socialism rules out individualism only in the narrow, selfish sense of people exploiting, harming, ruining others for the sake of their own personal advantage. Incidentally it is well to remember that the motto Karl Marx chose for himself was: "Follow your own bent, no matter what people say."

Q. I was very much interested in your series on socialism and how it would work in the United States. More such articles are needed to remind people that the fate of mankind doesn't depend entirely on whether England or Germany wins the war. You have provided an excellent antidote to the end-of-civilization-as-we-know-it boys in emphasizing that it is really earlier than we think and that socialism is yet to come. I wonder whether it would be possible for you to clear up one point. In discussing the future socialist society in the USA you write of Congress and the President as if their functions remained substantially unchanged. In the Soviet Union, however, the distinction between legislative and executive functions has for the most part disappeared. I recall that Marx in his *Civil War in France* describes the Commune as a working body, embodying legislative and executive duties in one. I would appreciate it if you would discuss this question further.

I meant to make clear in my last two articles that under American socialism the executive functions of the President and his Cabinet and the legislative functions of Congress would be vastly extended, because "those elected to office in a socialist society will be dealing specifically with the chief economic as well as political questions of the day, so that economics and politics are at last thoroughly integrated." This does not mean that I favor maintaining indefinitely the cumbrous "separation of powers" that is one of the distinguishing marks between the American structure of government and the British, for instance. But I do believe that a distinction between legislative and executive functions will necessarily remain. And I could not agree with you that in the Soviet Union this distinction, which is plainly embodied in the New Constitution, "has for the most part disappeared," although the two functions have undoubtedly come closer together there. As for the Commune, it was a temporary, emergency government reacting strongly against a corrupt and parasitic bourgeois bureaucracy; its particular forms cannot be taken as decisive for radical governments of a much later stage.

I would add that socialism makes explicit an important new dimension, as it were, in public affairs. That is the planning function, which some political thinkers consider part of the executive power and others consider a separate function in itself. I myself lean toward the latter view.

Q. I notice that you speak of a Senate and House of Representatives, such as we have now, in the socialist society. Does this mean that the same sort of state boundaries will exist; and if so, what about state barriers and rivalries?

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This question raises a point also implicit in the previous one. That is that in my articles I was not purporting to describe the *ideal form* of government that our American socialist society might ultimately come to have. I was trying to outline a concrete planning program that would appeal to the American people at the present time and to avoid complicating the issue by making far-reaching proposals for changing our governmental structure.

In my picture of how planning would function in the USA, I retained our existing structure of forty-eight different states, making provision for separate state Planning Commissions as well as regional Planning Commissions covering nine groups of states and the National Planning Commission for the country as a whole. Undoubtedly the retention of state boundaries would create certain problems as you suggest. And I am inclined to believe that eventually our system of socialist planning would work better with state lines eliminated and on the basis of broad regions differentiated according to natural resources and economic functions.

Q. You mention a number of existing government commissions or bureaus which we can utilize under socialism, such as the National Resources Planning Board and the Bureau of Standards. Exactly what purposes do these agencies serve now; or, rather, what people do they serve and what would be the difference in their functions in a socialist society?

Most of these organizations at present serve primarily the interests of the capitalist class in America and do their work entirely within the circle of presuppositions that underlie the profit system. For instance, the complex statistics issued by government departments every week covering total carloadings, money in circulation, sales of securities, and so on are compiled and made public for the sake of helping capitalist business to make bigger and better profits. But statistics, like planning itself, is something that can be utilized for all sorts of different purposes, both good and bad. Statistical research and knowledge are more important for the successful functioning of a socialist economy than of any other. And there are few government or private organizations doing statistical or planning work in America today that could not be transformed under socialism to serve the interests of the new society and the people as a whole.

Q. You say that capitalism is the cause of war. That I agree with. Still, I have never been convinced that socialism guarantees peace, inasmuch as the Soviet Union fought against Finland and has an extremely large army.

Certainly socialism in one country, the Soviet Union, is not sufficient to guarantee the peace of the entire *world,* even though year after year the Soviet government made strenuous efforts to rule out international war through the establishment of the principle of collective security. However, the governments of France and England, supported to a considerable degree by the American government, preferred to sabotage collective security and to encourage fascist aggression all over the globe in the fond hope that the fascist powers, and particularly Nazi Germany, would march against the Soviet Union.

Though this beautiful idea seemed to fade away last fall and to boomerang on its supporters, they never entirely gave up the project. And the Anglo-French tories themselves toyed for a long time with the notion of "switching the war" by attacking the USSR. In my opinion the Soviet moves since September 1939 in Poland, in Finland, in the Baltic states, and in the Balkans have all been primarily designed to strengthen the defensive position of the country in the West against aggression on the part of any possible nation or group of nations. The incorporation of 177,000 square miles of territory and 23,000,000 people has at the same time definitely limited the area of fascist expansion and war-making. In so far as Soviet socialism grows, that in itself constitutes a most significant defeat for fascism as well as for other forms of capitalist imperialism.

The Soviet Union does indeed have a large army and a great air force, backed by a united people and a sound economy. But a lone socialist republic in a world of aggressive capitalist states, no less than ten of which invaded Russia shortly after the Revolution of 1917 and tried to overthrow the new government, has need of adequate defense. And anyone who has followed contemporary history or merely news dispatches over the last ten years knows very well that Soviet fears of aggression have not been unwarranted.

It remains to be said that the best way for any country to defend itself against fascist imperialism is to institute a planned socialist economy in which the main instruments of production and distribution become the property of the people as a whole. Over the past year we have seen again and again how defense measures in nations like France, England, and the United States are subordinated to the profit motive of the capitalists; in a non-profit system, however, we no longer have to worry over this monkeywrench in the machinery of defense. In any case, as the experience of France so well demonstrates, the capitalists cannot be trusted to defend their country against fascism. Only the real anti-fascist and people's government that comes into being under socialism can develop the national morale and democratic spirit that will ensure the defeat of fascist aggression.

Q. The pan-American conference has suggested a question to me regarding your articles on socialism. If the United States goes socialist, what would happen to the Latin American countries? They are industrially far more backward than the US and the form of government of most of them is more dictatorial than ours. Just how will this problem be solved? Also, what will happen to Canada if the British empire is alive and kicking (however feebly) when the US goes socialist?

Geoffrey David

If and when the United States goes socialist, the influence of that move on the whole of Latin America will be tremendous. It will give an immense stimulus to all the anti-fascist and genuinely democratic tendencies throughout the countries to the south of us and do much to strengthen the movement toward socialism in these countries. The result, for example, in Chile, where a powerful people's front government is in the saddle, and in Mexico, already quite advanced along the path of radicalism, might well be the speedy establishment of socialist regimes.

Since a socialist government in the US will be definitely anti-imperialist, it will put an end to Yankee imperialism in Latin America and also take what steps it can, without interfering in the internal affairs of its southern neighbors, to discourage other foreign imperialisms there. These various imperialist interests, with their capitalist exploitation of the Central and South American peoples, are the chief factor at present in holding back the general progress and well-being of these peoples. The establishment of a socialist society in the United States will also have a radicalizing effect on Canada, and might possibly result eventually in this British dominion's detaching itself from the empire and joining the US in a socialist planning system of continental dimensions.

CORLISS LAMONT.

Dual Union Threat

AT THE recent convention of the American Federation of Teachers, William Green threatened to remove or smash those locals which insisted on continuing a policy of progressive trade unionism. His threats were directed particularly at Local 5 of New York, the second largest local in the country. Despite a popular mandate from the convention to promote unity in the Teachers Union, President George S. Counts and the newly elected executive council have failed to disavow Mr. Green's wrecking tactics. On the contrary, Professor Counts last week opened negotiations with the apparent intention of granting a dual union charter to a small group which resigned from the Teachers Union in 1936 on the ground that it was "Communist" controlled. This group, known as the Teachers Guild, has added about 100 members to its original 700, whereas the membership of Local 5 has grown from 1,500 to nearly 6,000 in the corresponding period. These figures clearly indicate the views of New York school teachers with regard to the two organizations. Local 5, through its President Charles Hendley, has repeated a generous offer to merge with the Teachers Guild on a fair and proportionate basis. Such a merger would be in the interests of teacher unity in New York City. But the officers of the Guild refuse to merge, insist on a dual charter. If the Green-Counts policy prevails against the wishes of the membership, the ensuing split in the teachers' ranks will be comforting to every anti-labor and anti-education agency in the country. At a time when education is under fire, it would be an outrageous betrayal to grant a dual charter in opposition to a courageous and progressive union body like Local 5. Nationwide protests from the union membership have so far restrained this dangerous maneuver.

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The Labor Board Stalemate

The NLRB needs a new chairman, but the President procrastinates. He seeks a hatchet man to break the Smith-Leiserson deadlock. Complicated politics.

Washington.

THE Labor Board is still headless, still paralyzed by the failure of the President to appoint a new chairman. The two remaining members, Edwin S. Smith and William M. Leiserson, are deadlocked. Smith stands by the traditional policies of the Labor Board at its best and most uncompromising. He believes in industrial unionism. He is opposed to infringements on labor's rights in the name of national defense. In a recent speech, Smith said: "There are for those of us who would fight to preserve our American democracy intact, two major problems ahead. The first and the primary task is to see that America keeps out of the European war. The second is to make sure that the national defense program itself does not become an instrument by which, short of war, the forces of reaction can succeed in striking vital blows at democracy." Leiserson, on the other hand, supports the President's war program. He is an arch Red-baiter. He believes in mediation and arbitration rather than in vigorous enforcement of the Wagner act. The only agreement that the two men seem to have reached is that they will not try to act on crucial policy matters. NLRB mimeograph machines turn out routine decisions. Important cases are piling up.

FDR'S DILEMMA

By appointing a new chairman, the White House is in a position to determine the entire future course of the board. When he named Leiserson, the President made it fairly plain which way the wind was blowing. Now it will be possible for Mr. Roosevelt to give his hatchet man on the board a clear majority. But the problem is not as simple as all that. The President's difficulty is that refusal to renominate Madden would be taken by a large section of the labor movement as a symbol of the administration's desertion of the principles of the Wagner act. This would hardly be a desirable impression to create just before the elections.

Edwin Smith is obviously the key man in the situation. If Smith resigned, the President would undoubtedly stop hesitating and reappoint Madden as chairman. Madden takes his Wagner act seriously, but he has vacillated between Smith and Leiserson in the past. The President is convinced that Madden could be handled if Leiserson were reinforced by a man of similar faith in the Green-Hillman formula of having labor give away its shirt in the name of national defense. So various administration big shots from Fanny Perkins down have been putting the heat on Smith to get out, and incidentally promising to take care of him if he is a good boy. From all indications Smith intends to stay just where he is until his term expires next August.

Even if Smith refuses to quit, the President may yet appoint Madden while Congress recesses. This would be a kick in the face for Leiserson, who has threatened to resign if he must again contend with both Smith and Madden. But it would undoubtedly be a shrewd political move. In the long run, it is unlikely that Madden's appointment would have a decisive effect on NLRB policies. The chances of Madden's confirmation by the Senate, particularly if the administration doesn't put up much of a fight for him, are not very good. It is thus possible for the President to reap the advantages of appointing Madden without the disadvantages of having him serve. And if Leiserson should stay, which most people here think will be the case despite his threats to the contrary, he will be in a position to gum the works up plenty, as he has been doing for the past year. Besides, Smith will have to get out in another year.

The only amusing aspect of the present sad state of affairs at the board is the predicament of Leiserson and some of his cohorts. Leiserson is fuming at the prospect of being let down by the President, after his record as the administration's chief obstructionist on the board. More precarious, and more tragi-comic, is the case of David Saposs, Leiserson's own private hatchet man. For the second time, the House Appropriations Committee has decreed that Congress eliminate the Division of Economic Research, which Saposs heads. Changing the name of the division to the Technical Services Division didn't help any. Saposs is Jewish; he was born in Russia and he has written about Karl Marx. That combination has made him fair game for the tories in Congress. And of course he is also a victim of his own Red-baiting. The Leiserson-Saposs whispering campaign about Labor Board Secretary Nathan Witt and other alleged Reds has boomeranged.

A recent chapter in the story of David Saposs is perhaps the most revealing. Rep. Frank Keefe, a very reactionary Wisconsin Republican, has told, strictly off the record, at least half the correspondents in the House press gallery that Saposs met with him and gave him the straight stuff, names of Communists, the real inside information on the Labor Board. The emissary who arranged the two conferences between Saposs and Keefe was Ralph Emerson, former legislative representative of the National Maritime Union, who was expelled as a shipowners' agent. Keefe has been wanting to appear before the Smith committee and tell all. But in the meantime, he told his story privately to committee members who subsequently called Saposs to the witness stand.

In his testimony before the Smith committee Saposs denied that he had furnished names of alleged Communists in his two talks with Keefe, who is a member of the Appropriations subcommittee handling Labor Board funds; Rep. Albert J. Engel, a Michigan Republican and a member of the same subcommittee, was present at the second conference. Saposs hopes to get funds for his division out of these conferences. Before the Smith committee Saposs labeled the American League for Peace and Democracy a "Communist front" organization, and let the committee draw its own conclusions from the fact that Edwin Smith had been a member of the American League. He said that the National Lawyers Guild "has supported a large number of Communist ideas," and that the Dies committee showed that Nathan Witt is a member of the guild. But the committee made it plain that it had a full account of the Saposs-Keefe meetings, and was dissatisfied with this kind of half-hearted smearing. Rep. Harry N. Routzohn of Ohio declared that "at the time you talked to Mr. Keefe, as we will be able to show, you thought you were losing your job. You then went back on everything that you told Mr. Keefe and Mr. Engel because you found that you were going to be kept on your job."

DESPITE SAPOSS

No tears need be wasted on Saposs. He has not only helped to endanger his own job but also weakened the position of a division necessary to the Labor Board's work. The board can't function without economic data. And the division ought to be saved despite Saposs. As for Leiserson, it would be distinctly helpful to the board if the President would embarrass him by nominating Madden. Such a move would certainly not solve all the problems of the board. But it would to some extent prevent Leiserson from immediately consolidating his position. It would give the labor movement a little more time to save the board from the process of disintegration and sabotage from within, which at the moment seems as serious as the danger of emasculation by amendment.

ADAM LAPIN.

"You're in the Army Now"

THE "blood, tears, toil, and sweat" lot of doughboys in this war probably will not be lightened by the caroling of Lily Pons and Lawrence Tibbett: their offer to entertain conscriptees has been coolly received by the War Department, which fears "an overdose of recreation." Says Col. Henry H. Pfeil, director of a "morale division" attached to the adjutant general's department, "In the World War many men got too much chocolate and too many cigarettes. The selective service trainees . . . must undergo intensive training."

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War Before the Elections?

"Closer to war than at any time since 1918." The fascist alliance. Our policy must be: aid to China, collaboration with the USSR. An editorial.

AMERICAN historians of a happier generation, looking backward from a brighter future, will inquire whether it was not in the past week that the decision to enter the second world war was made. For our first and most urgent deduction from the events of the past ten days is that *the American people have been brought closer to war than at any other time since November 1918.* The agreement of the fascist triumvirate means first of all that in their estimation, the United States and Great Britain are about to conclude, or have already concluded, an alliance for joint participation in the war. Reviewing the summer's events, the decisions of the Havana conference, the exchange of eight British naval bases for the fifty destroyers, the military understanding with Canada—all these appear to have been the preliminary steps of a developing liaison between British and American imperialism. The next steps, secretly and deliberately worked out in advance, include a pooling of resources so vast that the impending acquisition of bases at Singapore, New Zealand, Australia, perhaps also on the west African coast in exchange for submarines, light surface craft, and long-range bombers, will be only its most superficial manifestation.

On the day that the agreement in Berlin was signed, the New York *Herald Tribune* was shouting editorially: "We need bases. We need military understandings with . . . Australia and New Zealand precisely as we are at last developing plans for military cooperation with Canada in the northern Pacific. In the meantime there can be 'no assumption of the defense,' there can be no retreat." At the very same moment the American division of Duff Cooper's Ministry of Misinformation, that modern Creel committee chairmaned by William Allen White, was sending a "flying squadron" of prominent citizens to see the President. Herbert Agar, editor of the Louisville *Courier Journal,* Maury Maverick, mayor of San Antonio, Tex., Lewis Douglas, the front man for Morgan, and Chester Rowell, of the San Francisco *Chronicle,* came out of a White House interview "enthusiastically encouraged" in their demand for "additional aid" to Britain. And by the "long arm of coincidence," no sooner did this squadron leave but what Lord Lothian, the British ambassador, and Walter Layton, editor of the London *Economist,* called at the White House to inform the President, in the ambassador's words, that "Britain needs more of everything — and quickly." Mark Sullivan completes the picture with an elegiac column in the *Herald Tribune,* describing the President's press conference that very afternoon. With news of the fascist alliance coming over the radio, Mr. Roosevelt was engaging the newspapermen with choice witticisms, so lightheartedly that one newspaperman, Sullivan tells us, was prompted to remark: "If we go to war, we go gaily. . . ." Sullivan points up the moral by the significant allusion that "if on the eve of the battle of Waterloo there was a sound of revelry by night, (in Byron's words) it was the revelers, the British, who won the battle next day."

DISCUSSING the fascist agreement, Cordell Hull observes that "in the opinion of the government of the United States, it does not substantially alter a situation which has existed for several years." It is true, of course, that since November 1936 Germany and Japan have enjoyed a political understanding, presumably directed against the Communist International but actually a far more realistic arrangement, whereby Germany was able to revise the relations in the imperialist world in her own favor, while Japan was enabled to undertake her invasion of China. True, also, Germany and Italy have since May 1939 been bound by a "pact of steel," the military basis of the second stage of their campaign to redivide the imperialist world. Nevertheless, this new agreement must be considered as more than a continuation of the past. It opens a new chapter, and demarcates a new stage in the imperialist war.

By this agreement, Germany acknowledges that its original expectation of victory over Great Britain in 1940 must now be revised. The Germans are either unable or unwilling to pay the price of a physical conquest of the British Isles at this time, however much they may continue to bombard its defenders. As R. Palme Dutt observed in his memorable NEW MASSES articles in midsummer, the decisive sections of the British ruling class, desperate as their predicament is, have preferred to surrender important imperial positions to their American, rather than their German rival. Winston Churchill has been saying just this in all of his speeches since June 4. And the proposals for "union now" between the British and American empires are not only calculated to reconcile the British people to the disasters in which they have been plunged, but also represent a developing perspective of further Anglo-American collaboration, the first stage of which would be participation in the war.

So long as he was confident of Britain's capitulation or conquest before winter, Herr Hitler presumed to consider what Mr. Roosevelt was doing as inconsequential. He has now changed his mind. The new alliance is intended to give American policy pause; it is clearly calculated to influence the course of the election campaign, to stimulate the isolationists of the Hoover and Lindbergh variety to more energetic political activity. At the same time, the Germans utilize Japanese aspirations in the south Pacific to divert American imperialism from its main orientation. And in so far as Hitler again breaks the pledge of a "quick war" to the German people, and in so far as British strength is likely to increase by the spring, Germany is compelled to seek compensations: first, the more thorough exploitation of the conquered territory plus the Danubian basin; second, Italy may be expected to renew pressure upon Greece, and develop her campaign through Egypt toward Suez, while continuing penetration of east Africa from British Kenya. And Franco—he who was supposed, with papal blessings, to have brought peace to bleeding Spain—will be expected to accommodate the fascist thrust at Gibraltar, and participate in the general redivision of west Africa as well.

JAPAN'S PURPOSES in the new alliance are hardly less transparent. Her militarists have already invested a million Japanese lives in the "China incident." By all the canons of business practice, they must seek new capital with which to realize profit on the original investment. This has been the purpose of the fascization of Japanese life, the emergence of the most responsible figures at the Mikado's helm, such as Prince Konoye, who in his speech last Saturday declared "Taking internal conditions and the international outlook into consideration, the government decided that the triple alliance was Japan's best way. Our efforts will decide our fate. No effort will be too great. I ask the people to rise to overcome the nation's difficulties."

Japan endeavors by her southward drive to encircle China from the rear, to control her supply lines from Burma and Indo-China, to strike in time for the rich resources of the south Pacific. In the early stages of her campaign, Japan relied on the old alliance with Britain. For the British ruling class, by withdrawal of troops, by handing over silver belonging to the Central Government, by closing the Burma road, has systematically accommodated Japan's purpose, all the more so with the developments in the west. Simultaneously, Japan has depended on the continual supply of copper, petroleum, cotton, pig iron, and scrap steel from the United States, as well as the American market for her silk. This dependence was also not misplaced, for the highly democratic American business men have not hesitated to profit from this murderous trade, while the very devout American government, always profuse with verbal protests, has taken only the most reluctant measures to impede Japan.

Even last week, after the triple alliance was announced, Sumner Welles in his speech to the Cleveland Foreign Affairs Council adopted the formula which was so charac-

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teristic of Mr. Chamberlain: "There was no problem" he said, "which could not be peacefully solved through negotiation provided there existed a sincere desire on the part of all concerned to find an equitable and fair solution which would give just recognition to the rights and real needs of all concerned."

American imperialism does not wish to see a redivision of east Asia in favor of Japan, certainly not at the expense of its own interests. At the same time, it does not want to see the victory of China, with all that this would do to encourage democracy and independence for the colonial peoples of all Asia. Simultaneously, American imperialism itself prepares for active intervention in the war, to secure a redivision of world relations in its own favor. Japan has cleverly grasped the triple horn of this dilemma: she stands to gain in so far as her alliance with Germany centers American attention on the Atlantic. She speculates that the continued diplomacy of appeasement in Washington, advocated by the foremost ideologists of imperialism such as Walter Lippmann, will give her what she wants. And while Italy and Germany can hardly assist Japan in a military way, by pressure upon the Vichy government in the case of Indo-China, and similar pressure upon the Dutch in the East Indies, they can facilitate Japan's course and still serve their own designs.

WITHOUT SPECULATING upon which of these objectives will be, or can be achieved on the part of the fascist powers, we think the following facts emerge clearly: first, that so far from ending, the war continues and expands, with all the terrible implications of this fact for the peoples of the belligerent nations. Second, that Japanese imperialism, more precarious than ever on its Far Eastern limb, depends for its advance upon Washington's sabotage of China, and the continuing antagonism toward the USSR. Third, that the Mediterranean, and probably the entire African continent become the object of open struggle between both imperialist camps, a struggle which is calculated to dismember the body of the British empire while continuing pressure on its brain center; fourth, and most important for ourselves, every day it becomes clearer that our own ruling class is throwing its weight into the scales, is staking American lives and resources in anticipation of profit and power for itself.

One year ago, the Communist movements throughout the world warned that unless this war were stopped, it would eventually engulf all humankind. That prophecy was terribly accurate, although no Marxist will rejoice in its tragic fulfillment. As recently as August 1, addressing the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of that one-sixth of the earth which remains at peace, a man called Molotov remarked: *"The first year of the European war is drawing to a close, but the end of the war is not yet in sight. It is more probable that we are on the eve of a new stage in the intensification of the war between Germany and Italy on the one side and England, assisted by the United States, on the other."*

AS FOR THE POSITION of the Soviet Union: certainly, the fact that in their ambitious new order, the fascist dictators could not even pretend to have the cooperation of the USSR refutes again the despicable "communazi" slander. And if, as most dispatches from London prefer to emphasize, the new agreement is ultimately directed against the USSR, then what has been emphasized once more is the complete independence of Soviet policy. This in itself deals a body blow to the perverse liberals, the social democrats, the misleaders of labor whose stock-in-trade has been the myth of Soviet dependence on one bloc of imperialist states.

But if our basic thesis, that we are in the midst of an intensification of imperialist antagonisms on a world scale, is correct, it would follow that the USSR should be quite confident of its continued neutrality toward its western neighbor. In the Far East, as Lawrence Rosinger's penetrating study of Soviet Far Eastern policy in September 1940 *Pacific Affairs* reveals, the cornerstone of Soviet policy is support to China's great struggle for independence. Any normalization of relations with Japan could not contradict this basic policy, nor would it interfere with the improvement of American relations if the United States were really determined to support China in the realistic, whole-hearted way that the Soviet people have. Thus, the new agreement appears to present nothing new to the USSR. As always, it relies on its careful estimation of the historical forces at work, on the ever expanding strength of its socialist economy, on the moral and political unity of its 200,000,000 citizens in their seventeen socialist republics, on the vigilance of the armed forces which express their will.

THE GREAT NEED of this moment for Americans is *policy*—a policy that will shape America's course, not in the interests of that sinister handful of industrialists whose rule has brought ruin to American life these past ten years, but a *people's* policy, a progressive program in the interests of the great majority of common folk. Our danger does not lie in imminent invasion. *It comes not so much from the fascist axis as it does from the fact that our own ruling class contributes to the spread of this war, intoxicates itself with the quest for profit and world preeminence, and toward such ends, stakes our lives and resources.*

A people's government in Washington today would seize the moment to couple forthright measures against Japan with a manifold increase in support for China. The embargo on scrap iron becomes a mere maneuver, belated as it is, unless we cut off Japan's trade in purchase of pig iron, copper, petroleum, cotton—all of which she is buying in larger quantities than ever before. The $25,000,000 loan to China, in exchange for tungsten, is absolutely inadequate, a drop in the bucket. If the Export-Import bank can earmark $268,000,000 of its half billion-dollar authorization for the financing of munitions sales to Latin America, then certainly, China—the front line trench of democracy in Asia—deserves many times more than the seventy million she has received since July 1937. If the Soviet Union, whose economy, according to Mr. G. E. R. Gedye, is about to collapse, has been able to extend China close to $400,000,000 in credits since the invasion began, as well as the services of pilots, technical advisers, and mechanics, then the USA must do at least as much.

Such aid for China and such measures against Japan cannot be realized without a decisive improvement of relations with the USSR. Common sense and national interest demand an immediate demarche from Washington to Moscow, on the basis of increased support to China, if no other. After all, what have we learned from the experience of France and Britain? Was it not the policy of bitter hostility to the USSR which destroyed the security of France? Was it not the same snobbish, stubborn, bullheaded arrogance of the British tories toward the USSR which has pushed the British people over the precipice of Europe? And if, as some commentators insist, the fascist triplice directs its shaft against both the USSR and the United States, does not the most elementary sense of strategy impel us to demonstrate our solidarity with the Soviet republics?

THIS MOMENT contains the most alarming dangers to the peace of the United States. It demands the most energetic mobilization of every force that stands for peace. The great resources of protest, organization, of militancy in American life must be tapped in a new, refreshed, and more determined way. Election time is the danger period: locally and nationally, the new situation demands rebuke against every candidate who supports the trend to war, and decisive victory for every candidate who stands for keeping America at peace. Without public discussion a coterie of cynical intellectuals, in cahoots with the most sinister cabal of admirals and generals, all of them in the service of the most rapacious robber barons of big industry, are knifing the American people in the back. The situation demands in the words of Earl Browder in a speech of last spring, that we "destroy the secret of secret diplomacy, tear the mask off, and show the true face and meaning of all steps . . . to drag the American people into the universal slaughter of a dying capitalist system . . . to watch with the greatest vigilance the diplomatic acts of our own government; let nothing escape the closest examination . . . and always remember that we cannot demand of other peoples to restrain and control their governments unless we begin by restraining and controlling our own."

Eton Underground

"UNDAUNTED LONDON NEWSMEN CARRY ON BELOW STREET LEVEL; Self-Contained Plant Operates So Britons Can Get Their Cricket Scores and Other Data."—*Headline in the Baltimore "Sun."*

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How About Jobs?

AN EDITORIAL

This editorial on unemployment and social security is the third of a series on the issues of the election campaign.

TURN the clock back to Jan. 4, 1939. A voice speaks to Congress and the nation:

> The united strength of a democratic nation can be mustered only when its people, educated by modern standards to know what is going on and where they are going, have conviction that they are receiving as large a share of opportunity for development, as large a share of material success and of human dignity, as they have a right to receive.
>
> Our nation's program of social and economic reform is therefore a part of defense as basic as armaments themselves.

On that day, in his annual message to Congress, Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke what was in the hearts of millions. But the Franklin D. Roosevelt of 1940 speaks quite differently. On September 24 he was asked at his press conference to comment on a statement by Miss Harriet Elliott, consumer member of the National Defense Advisory Commission, that "45,000,000 of us are living below the safety line right now because we are not getting the kinds and amounts of food necessary for strong defense." According to a Washington dispatch by Adam Lapin in the *Daily Worker,* the only New York paper that considered the President's remarks news fit to print, Roosevelt "declared that the National Defense Advisory Commission must draw a line between what is needed for the present arms program and what the country needs over the next sixty years. Health and education are important, the President said, but they cannot be considered a direct part of the administration's national defense program."

In those two statements is the measure of the distance the administration has moved away from New Deal objectives. Sixty years! Sweat and sacrifice, forget decent housing, forget relief, forget health and education, forget adequate protection for old age. Remember only to jump when the brass hats crack the whip. Here is the black reality behind the glittering promise of the 1940 New Deal.

Last week delegates to the annual convention of the American Bankers Association predicted an unprecedented prosperity boom resulting from war production. The bankers' boom is already under way as the profits of the big corporations show. But what about the rest of us? If we turn to President Roosevelt, we find him looking at the country's problems through banker-colored glasses. In his recent informal talk to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Home Club of Hyde Park, in reply to the question: "Is there much unemployment?" the President said that "almost everybody has got something to do." Almost everybody—except more than ten million American men and women, ten million for whom capitalism has no use. This huge army of the unemployed is with us at a time when the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production hit 123 in August, only three points below the all-time high of 126 last December. Administration economists recently sought to paint another rainbow, to replace those that have faded so fast, with a calculation that by next July 1 the defense program and conscription would absorb 4,500,000 unemployed. These figures may be good election propaganda, but they are bad economics. The October *Economic Notes* of the Labor Research Association points out that the industries in which armaments orders are mainly concentrated—aircraft, machine tools, and steel—cannot be counted on to provide any large number of new jobs. The aircraft industry employs a relatively small number of workers, while both the machine tool and steel industries are already operating at 93 percent of capacity.

How has the administration been "solving" the unemployment problem? By a ruthless slashing of relief rolls. In June there were only 1,580,000 on WPA, a decline of about 45 percent from the 2,835,000 on WPA in June 1939. (And remember, the average monthly WPA wage is only $54.) While the government appropriates fifteen billions for war purposes, some 45,000,000 Americans (the unemployed and their families) face a winter of stark suffering and destitution.

What about social security? Capitalism, of course, can provide no real security for the masses of the people. Under socialism in the Soviet Union unemployment was completely abolished ten years ago without resort to armaments economy. Today, despite the necessity for strengthening the military defense of the country, one-quarter of the total Soviet budget, or 42,875,400,000 rubles, is being devoted to social and cultural services. Yet even under capitalism certain elementary protective measures can be achieved. The present Social Security Act is admitted even by the administration to be inadequate. Last fall Social Security Administrator McNutt announced that plans were being made for broadening and liberalizing the Social Security Act. What became of these plans? They have gone the way of the whole New Deal program of social reform in the mad drive toward war. In his recent address to the teamsters' union convention President Roosevelt said: "We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended." How near is "the near future"? Sixty years?

The Republican platform, too, favors broadening of the Social Security Act. Both parties agree on doing nothing about it. The Republican record on the question of relief and social security is one that makes the ancient Roman program of bread and circuses seem generous by comparison. The Cleveland relief crisis of last winter was a test-tube example of what awaits the entire country if the Republican proposal, backed by many Democrats, for turning all relief back to the states is adopted. But at the rate Roosevelt is liquidating the WPA, even this difference between Republican and Democratic policy may soon disappear.

The situation requires a totally different kind of program. Here are a few suggestions:

Relief. Both the CIO and the Workers Alliance have urged the expansion of WPA to provide jobs for three million workers. The Workers Alliance also proposes a 30 percent increase in wage scales, with $70 a month as the minimum, unemployment assistance grants to states for local relief, extension of the National Youth Administration and the CCC under civilian control, and passage of the American Youth Act. The only political platform which endorses this program is that of the Communist Party.

Social Security. Unemployment insurance benefits in 1939 represented only 54 cents out of every dollar collected in contributions. Many payments were for less than $6 a week. It

(Continued on page 23)

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NEW MASSES
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Business Manager
CARL BRISTEL.

West Coast Representative
GEORGE WILLNER.

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(Continued from page 22)

the Social Security Act is not to undermine purchasing power instead of bolstering it, payments and their duration must be increased. Both the Murray bill (S 3365) sponsored by the CIO and the McCormack bill (HR 7762) advanced by the AFL provide for a flat duration of twenty weeks (the Communist platform urges twenty-six weeks as provided in British law), and benefits of $25 and $24 a week respectively. For the aged both the CIO and the Workers Alliance urge pensions of $60 a month for single persons and $90 for married couples. These would start at the age of sixty instead of sixty-five as at present. The coverage for both the unemployed and the aged should also be broadened to include farmers and farm laborers, domestic workers, government employees, those working for religious, charitable, and educational institutions, and workers engaged in casual labor.

Can America afford this kind of relief and social security program? The question should rather be: can America afford to do without it? "Our nation's program of social and economic reform is a part of defense as basic as armaments themselves." That is as true in October 1940 as it was in January 1939.

The Right to Vote

"THE reactionaries who are hurrying America into a disastrous war are afraid of the 1940 elections," said Earl Browder on September 25 in his first campaign speech broadcast over a national radio chain. The Communist presidential candidate placed the independent policy of his party squarely before the electorate when he said: "The decisive majority is opposed to the course toward militarization and war upon which Roosevelt and Willkie have embarked. To find electoral expression for the majority opinion, the voters have no alternative but to break their traditional political allegiances and to turn to one of the minority parties, among which only the Communist Party offers a genuine alternative."

It is to hold back this powerful swell of opinion for peace that the Roosevelt administration has launched what Browder termed "the most gigantic conspiracy in American history to disenfranchise the American people." Despite President Roosevelt's assertion in his September 20 address at the University of Pennsylvania that "as long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can deny the right to vote to any other set," those who wish to vote for Communist candidates are being denied the vote in state after state. Neither Mr. Roosevelt's Department of Justice nor state officials of the Democratic Party have acted to halt fraud, mob violence, publication of blacklists, arbitrary official action, arrests, and fixing of exorbitant bail against Communist candidates and signatories of nominating petitions placing Communist candidates on the ballot. Pro-Roosevelt Governor Olson of California is sponsor of the recently passed ex post facto "law" attempting to bar the Communist Party from the ballot in that state. Many obvious violations of civil liberties have gone unchallenged by Roosevelt subordinates.

Despite harassment and persecution, the Communist Party has been able to collect tens of thousands of signatures on its nominating petitions in all parts of the country. Outstanding trade unionists, prominent churchmen, educators, leaders in public life, local committees of progressives, many individual liberals, as well as such organizations as the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties' Committee on Election Rights—1940, headed by novelist Dashiell Hammett, have rallied to defend all minority rights. And the Communist Party announces that in the single state of New York $200,000 has been raised for its campaign fund, a record sum in a record period of time.

Not So Independent

THE independent committee for the re-election of President Roosevelt has been set up in the name of a shadow—the New Deal. The program which was once the New Deal has been buried by the present administration. What lives with grim tenacity in Washington today is the will of Wall Street. Any committee, whatever its auspices, which proposes to help bend the American people to that will is neither independent nor progressive.

The moving spirit in the new committee is Mayor LaGuardia, a man whose liberalism, like that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, was a champagne that quickly evaporated in the heat of Europe's war. The committee seeks to use the prestige of a more genuine, though highly confused person, Senator George Norris, to persuade the liberal independent voters, on whom a Democratic victory depends, that nothing has changed—that the Roosevelt who in Madison Square Garden four years ago pledged to master the forces of entrenched greed has not been mastered by them. But Senator Norris himself best characterized the man whom he now supports when he warned only a short time ago that the conscription bill, which the President foisted on the country, would lead to dictatorship and the destruction of fundamental liberties.

In a statement in the name of his committee Senator Norris said:

> In this crisis the American people have three choices and only three choices for commander-in-chief. Those choices are Browder, Willkie, and Roosevelt. The first of these choices we need not discuss. The second choice is the answer to the prayer of the utilities monopoly. The third is the hope of the American people.

Is it not strange that the liberal principles for which Norris fought when he condemned conscription and the alien registration bill, were opposed by both Roosevelt and Willkie, while these principles were upheld only by the candidate whom Norris would rather not discuss?

Barefoot Boy Willkie

WENDELL L. WILLKIE'S "program for agriculture," offered at Omaha last week, reflects the audacity of desperation. This pet of the public utilities dares to tell the farmers that he has no solution for the perennial farm problem save to continue some of the old New Deal measures (soil conservation, commodity loans, farm credit, rural electrification, crop insurance) — measures that were not really fundamental, never boldly applied, and are now being curtailed or abandoned for the sake of a war that Mr. Willkie himself wholeheartedly promotes. He dares to tell them that he will banish all their troubles by restoring national prosperity—with a wand. In the same way he will expand their domestic market. The "foreign situation" has wrecked the farm export market but that's Mr. Roosevelt's fault: give Mr. Willkie time and he will "adopt a far-sighted foreign policy" to bring back the market. He did not say what that policy is; he didn't have to—who does not know by now that it is FDR's policy, even including Cordell Hull's reciprocal trade program?

And that was all. No mention of farm mortgages, evictions, sharecroppers, Okies and Arkies, of adequate relief and social security for farmers. No hint, of course, as to the devastating effect of war economy on the farmers and the whole American people—a devastation which Frank J. Wallace foretells in his article on page 12 of this issue. Little comment is needed on the callous demagogy of Mr. Willkie's economics. This is not the first time the Republican candidate has demonstrated his belief in what Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., one of his supporters, insolently calls the "economic illiteracy" of the American people. Mr. Sloan should be proud of his protege's performance at Omaha.

Threats to Labor

JOHN L. LEWIS spoke out boldly against two bills which menace labor's rights in the name of "national defense." In letters to legislators, he called HR 10465, which provides stiff penalties for persons who allegedly destroy or even attempt to destroy armaments facilities, a bill written so loosely that "its broad language could be applied to strikes which result in any injury or damage to property during the course of a strike and the severe penalties of the law applied to all the

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strikers." This fascist measure has already been passed by the House. Of HR 10495, the so-called Home Guard bill which provides for new units to be set up by states to replace the mobilized National Guard, Mr. Lewis wrote "it may result in very serious abuse. It is without any statutory restrictions as to the purposes for which such military forces may be used." Lewis clearly pointed to the possibility that such Home Guards may be used to break strikes.

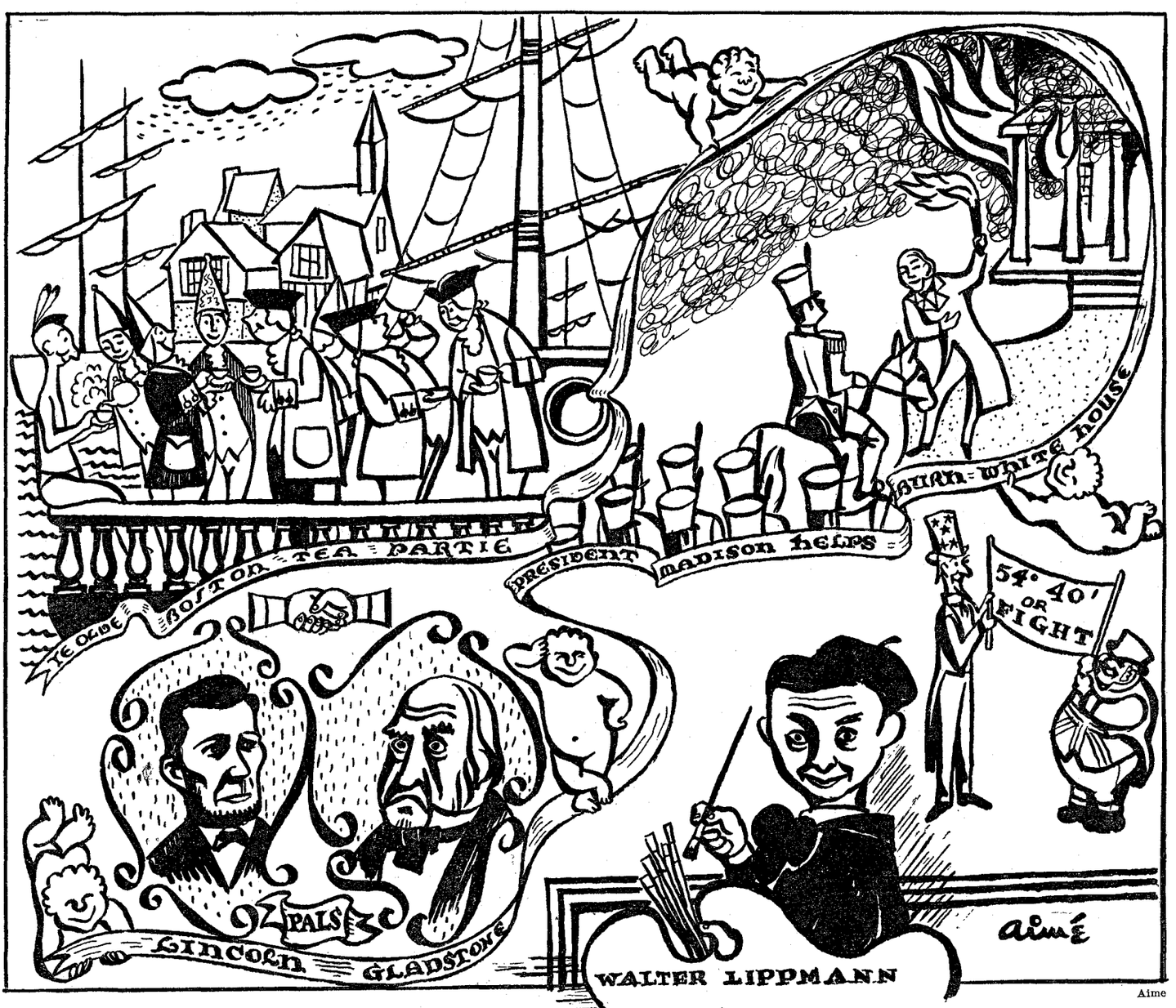
While the CIO president was demanding that the right to strike be protected, Sidney Hillman was telling the New York meeting of the US Conference of Mayors how happy he was because "there has not been a serious interruption, strike, or stoppage" since the National Defense Commission was established. From his description of his plan of collaboration with industry, it was clear that it would result in the elimination of independent trade union action and lead to the use of relief labor to break strikes.

A few days later Hillman's NDC labor advisory committee offered a new "streamlined job progress program" called "upgrading," a method of rationalizing skilled job operations and using apprentices, CCC, NYA, and WPA labor as a means of speeding up production in so-called defense industries. Clearly the words and deeds of Hillman bode no good for organized labor, in which he holds a leading post. He stands at the opposite pole from Lewis, who is outspoken in his demand that labor's right to strike be preserved under all circumstances.

Anniversary of Munich

LAST Monday, September 30, marked the second anniversary of the Munich agreement. In its issue of October 11, 1938, NEW MASSES published a cable from R. Palme Dutt, which must have been written one or two days after Chamberlain returned from his meeting with Hitler. Said Mr. Dutt:

The continuous dream of British policy, of the Four Power Pact, appears on the surface realized. But in the real relations of power it is a very different Four Power Pact from that of which Britain dreamt. The British aim of the Four Power Pact has been the aim of the consolidation of European reaction, with the power of France and Germany balanced under British hegemony and with the point turned against the Soviet Union and eventu-



Aime

"They [the thirteen liberated colonies] chose to work with the British against all the other empires because they found that in spite of many irritations and quarrels, the British and American interests in this hemisphere were most nearly the same."—Walter Lippmann.

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ally against the United States. But France has been reduced to extreme weakness and inferiority by British policy. Britain is in consequence isolated and in a weak position before the Berlin-Rome axis; and the effective leadership is, as a result, in the hands of Hitler.

Chamberlain may dream that Hitler will turn the power which British capitulation has surrendered into his hands against the Soviet Union and spare Britain. Such an attempt is not excluded, but it is by no means the greatest likelihood that Hitler should necessarily direct his attack first against the strongest state in the world, the one state which has stood firm and not trembled before fascism. There are three other directions to which Hitler may first turn his attack.

His first and most obvious line of advance is to follow up the reduction of Czechoslovakia by pressing forward his domination in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe up to the borders of the Soviet Union and the Black Sea; to follow up the *Drang Nach Osten* into the Balkans, leading toward the Near and Middle East, Irak, and the old region of conflict with Britain.

The second line of attack is against France, whose annihilation remains the aim set out in *Mein Kampf*. British reaction's hostility to the people's front is unconcealed; and the Anglo-German pact to the exclusion of France is the first sign of the isolation of France. Here the attack may in the first place follow the Spanish model and develop initially as the assault of French reaction in the service of Hitler against French democracy, with the aim to turn France into a vassal state tied to Hitler.

The third line of attack now coming more and more into the open behind all the guise of present "friendship" is the deep and basic conflict with Britain for the possession of the spoils of the empire. Hitler's demand to Chamberlain for colonies is the first direct warning of the future offensive. As this offensive comes more and more openly into view, the disquiet and division grow in the ranks of the Conservatives. Alongside of the anger of the popular forces against Chamberlain also rises the anger in the Conservative ranks, seen in the resignation of Duff Cooper and the debate in Parliament. Chamberlain's laurel crown of victory is already withering on his brow and will yet turn into his crown of thorns.

Something Rotten in Dakar?

THERE is something very, very mysterious about the incident at Dakar—that town in French West Africa upon which British ships suddenly opened fire, bombarded for two days with 300 casualties, and then just as suddenly abandoned. In Britain, General de Gaulle, leader of the "free Frenchmen" is being blamed, presumably because he led the Admiralty to believe that taking Dakar would be a pushover; in the USA, the New York *Times* publishes a sharp editorial on September 26 criticizing de Gaulle and the Admiralty for its "major blunder." It is made to appear that as in Norway and Somaliland, the British have again given their friends cause for anxiety.

We suspect there is much more to this story. Nobody has satisfactorily explained why the British Navy at Gibraltar permitted three French cruisers to pass down the coast to reinforce the Dakar garrison; or why, after blasting Dakar for two days, the British suddenly withdrew on the ground that "it has never been the intention of his Majesty's government to enter into serious warlike operations against those Frenchmen who felt it their duty to obey the commands of the Vichy government." And de Gaulle is presumably "anxious that he should not be the cause of bloodshed to his fellow countrymen." Didn't the British weigh the "serious warlike operation" when the attempt upon Dakar was planned? Did de Gaulle have scruples about shedding the blood of his countrymen when hundreds of French sailors lost their lives in the shelling of the French fleet off Oran early last July?

Moreover, Washington reactions are suspicious: the first dispatches reported that the Administration was "unofficially pleased" to learn of the British assault, since "Dakar has been regarded as the most likely point from which an eventual Nazi attack on Latin America could be launched." But after the withdrawal the United Press says that "Administration officials believed that failure . . . to capture Dakar had moved the war several hundred miles nearer the western hemisphere."

NEW MASSES submits the following queries to its readers: is it possible that the British admiralty deliberately permitted three French cruisers to pass Gibraltar because they planned to attack them? Is it possible that Lord Lothian, the British ambassador, connived with the Admiralty and the State Department to stage a demonstration off Dakar that would impress the American people with new and alarming dangers to this hemisphere? Is it possible that the British deliberately refrained from taking Dakar, and left it in French (and therefore German) hands, in order to pave the way for the leasing of several British bases on the West African coast, for example, Freetown in Sierra Leone—which would be Roosevelt's first *transatlantic* step, equivalent to a declaration of war? We wonder.

Roundup

THE WAR AT HOME: 35,700 more National Guardsmen called for a year of active duty—in addition to 60,500 called on September 15. . . . Elliott Roosevelt beats the draft by enlisting as a captain in the Specialists Reserve of the Army. Salary, $266.67 a month. Salary of a conscript, $21 a month for first four months, $30 thereafter. . . . Voluntary enlistments in army and navy go on at a rate that proves the Burke-Wadsworth act unnecessary—except to brass hats of industry who relish the registration of sixteen million citizens. . . . Senator Clark of Missouri demands an investigation of propaganda agencies advocating more aid to Britain. . . . Lawrence W. ("Chip") Robert resigns from the National Democratic Committee when it is revealed that his membership netted his architectural firm $900,000 in government "defense" contracts. . . . The hierarchy of the American Legion convention in Boston balked a resolution to preserve the Legion's historic neutrality stand, and resolved instead to support "every practicable aid to Great Britain." The convention endorsed the Burke-Wadsworth act, called for permanent universal military training, and voted to create an "American column" (read "vigilantes") to fight "fifth columns." William Green, AFL president, contributed to the atmosphere of hysteria in which these resolutions were passed by furthering "aid to Britain" and pledging support of the peacetime draft.

AND ABROAD: Norway comes fully under the Nazi heel as the Storting is dissolved. Major Vikdun Quisling's National Sammlung is the only recognized party. Communists have been arrested and their headquarters occupied by Nazis. . . . The Vichy government arrests Vincent Auriol, Solomon Grumbach, Jules Moch, and Marx Dormoy, Socialist aides of Leon Blum, himself recently interned for Riom trials. . . . Lord Marley, Labor Party lord touring the US for the British Foreign Office, promised Jews "free territory" after British victory. Like Palestine? . . . Finland "invites" German troops for passage through the country toward the Swedish iron ore region. . . . London butter ration is cut from four to two ounces per person per week; meat allowances increased. . . . Costa Rica especially instructs its diplomatic representatives in France to protect Spanish refugees facing possible deportation to Franco Spain. . . . Morale is high in the uninvaded territories of China, although drugs are desperately needed, especially sulfanilamide and sulfapyridine. Dr. Claude E. Forkner, chairman of the China Aid Council, 200 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., solicits your aid.

SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY: Samuel Chester May of the University of California disinherits his Phi Beta Kappa son, Kenneth, a teaching assistant in mathematics, for his activity as a Communist campaign manager in Alameda County. Parent May is vice chairman of the State Defense Council. . . . Students receiving assistance from the National Youth Administration must take an oath of allegiance to the government—no "young radicalism" wanted. . . . Eighty-three prominent educators and clergymen protest to Attorney General Jackson widespread violations of minority parties' ballot rights. . . . The 151st anniversary of the Bill of Rights fell on September 25, accenting current struggle for preservation of America's most precious document. . . . Harry Van Arsdale, business manager of Local 3 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was arrested along with four other officers of his union, on a "riot" charge resurrected from the statutes of 1794. Van Arsdale's union is conducting a strike in Glendale, L. I., involving several hundred men working for the Triangle Conduit & Cable Co., a heavy beneficiary of government defense orders.

CENSORED: All big-money New York newspapers (except *PM*, which uses no advertising) refused *Friday* magazine's ad of its expose of Henry Ford's intimate tieup with the Nazi bund and "Dear Fritz." Postal Telegraph stopped its boys from distributing the ad in leaflet form.

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

The Life of Dr. Du Bois

Herbert Aptheker reviews the autobiography of the noted Negro educator. . . . Isidor Schneider discusses the Atlantic Prize novel, "The Family" by Nina Fedorova.

DUSK OF DAWN, *by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Harcourt, Brace & Co. $3.*

FOR more than forty years Dr. Du Bois has been prominent in American life, especially in the activities of the Negro people. Those who have followed his very numerous writings know that few people wield a more skilled and at times more truculent pen. One naturally expects his autobiography to be a well knit and informative work. And *Dusk of Dawn* does contain some beautifully and brilliantly written pages, particularly those which attempt to describe the psychological meaning of caste segregation. It offers much information not elsewhere available on Booker T. Washington, the Tuskegee Machine, the history of two protest groups, the Niagara Movement and the NAACP, and the despicable attitude and actions of Woodrow Wilson in relation to the Negro people. Very serious misconceptions, however, greatly detract from the book's value.

The fundamental misconception consists of a vulgarization and falsification of Marxism. It is amazing and disheartening to see a man of Du Bois' stature repeat ancient errors that have been corrected a thousand times within the past sixty years. The hoary confusion between Marxism and economic determinism appears here, as well as a rejection of "communism and violence," as though the two were synonymous or possessed a causal relationship. At one point Du Bois describes a young Negro as "in some ways brilliant, but on the other hand, a communist."

The author actually asserts that there is no place in Marxist philosophy for the problem of nationalistic or racial prejudices, and that "Russian communism" simply ignores its existence. The land of the Soviets, of the Tartars of the Volga and Crimea, the Kirghiz and Sart of Siberia and Turkestan, the Turks of Transcaucasia, the Kalmyks, Votyaks and Mari, the Jews and Greeks and Poles, and (as Du Bois should know) the Negroes too, and a hundred other peoples all living together with peace and love and respect—has this new world "ignored" the national question?

These theoretical errors, of course, give rise to errors in practice. Du Bois deprecates the agitation that surrounded the Scottsboro case. He feels that "quiet and careful" methods would have been of more help to the young Negroes. "Quiet and careful" methods like those that saved—whom? Mooney? Herndon? The Scottsboro boys themselves? Dr. Du Bois does not hesitate to slander the Communist Party, claiming that it considered "the actual fate of these victims a minor matter" as compared with raising a great noise. If the American Communist Party had nothing to its credit but the part it played in arousing national awareness of the "quiet and careful" attempt by Alabama's Bourbons to murder nine youngsters, it would still deserve boundless praise and honor, instead of vilification and slander.

Dr. Du Bois understands now the living fraud that was Wilson. Yet he excuses his action in urging Negroes to vote Democratic in 1912—instead of for Eugene V. Debs—by saying, "I could not let the Negroes throw away votes." Urged on by people like Du Bois, 100,000 Negroes voted for the "liberal" Wilson and got a President whose anti-Negro venom was paralleled only by slave-holding executives. With Wilson came increased degradation and oppression, imperialist war, wholesale lynching — while Du Bois wrote about "democracy" and "our country," while he saw his activities harnessed to the point where he had to "fight even to be segregated."

What is his advice today on this life and death issue? Surely he understands the fraud of the "lesser evil"? Surely he recognizes the robber nature of the present blood bath? No, he is merely "less sure now than then of the soundness of this war attitude. . . . I do not know. I am puzzled." But on revolutionary struggle Du Bois feels no doubt. Then "war is worse than hell," and there is nothing to be "puzzled" about. Happily, other Negroes have spoken and acted differently—Douglass, Tubman, Garnet, Walker, Cato, Gabriel, Vesey, Turner. And, most happily, there are Negroes now who speak and act differently—Herndon, Ford, Newton, Holmes, Patterson, Davis, Wright. As one of these, Richard Wright, has said, "There is much strength in the Negro people"; they will not always spend it in wars that "puzzle" Dr. Du Bois.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

About White Russians

THE FAMILY, *by Nina Fedorova. Atlantic Prize Novel. Little, Brown & Co. $2.50.*

I GOT a bit of extra-curricular pleasure out of the knowledge that a large number of reactionaries who pick up this book by a White Russian lady, expecting it to be smoking hot against the Soviets, will be thoroughly let down.

Not that the book is pro-Soviet. The tone is that of a person who has decided that it is sensible, as well as a noble gesture, to forgive and forget. In it is an implicit acknowledgment of the bitter fact that the capitalist world which made its own bloody use of the Whites as "defenders of civilization" proved cold hosts to them in their dispersion. In China, where the largest group of them settled in uneasy refugee status, they were allowed—even given a few pushes—to sink to the bottom. Suffering the snubs of the other Europeans, especially the long-perfected arrogance of the English; alternately bullied and

"GOSSIP," *painted by Stella Buchwald and recently exhibited at the ACA Gallery, in New York City.*

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used as mercenaries by the Japanese, with only outcast and demeaning livelihoods open to them, the Russian Whites were provided with sufficient new troubles to dim the old. That is reflected in the story Mme. Fedorova tells. The group she chooses as her characters is perhaps too "interesting"; the treatment frequently drags into heavy sentiment; but the author can make a story move, and the novel is above average.

The chief characters are the members of a White Russian family that manages, despite torturing hardships, to keep together and, in the pinched boarding house which they run on a constantly teetering credit system, to provide a haven for derelicts. First the dominating figure is Grandma, whom adversity has tempered to endure misfortune and fitted to comfort the more unfortunate. After Grandma's death Mother, having been shaped by the new bereavement and further strains, succeeds to the older woman's resigned peace and steadfast usefulness.

Nevertheless, the family, together with its unrelated accretions, breaks up. Some die off. The eight-year-old boy, Dima, departs with an English foster mother. The daughter, Lida, waits to join her American sweetheart. But significantly, Peter, the oldest son, now the head of the family, makes his way secretly back to Russia though it is Communist, though he thinks that he does not believe in Communism, though he expects to be discovered, arrested, sent to a prison work camp, and to endure difficult years before he is admitted to a citizen's participation in the life of the country.

Does the author intend this to be symbolic? Does she want to suggest that the Russian Whites and their children, along with slow, painful, and will-less absorption among other peoples, will seek to make their peace with the Soviets and somehow return? Mme. Fedorova gives no clear clues. But it is significant that the family's father, who elected to remain behind when the family emigrated, and who secured a divorce, remarried, and established a new, Soviet family, is presented as neither ogre nor victim but a good man who is happy and doing well in the new society.

Most of the characters in the book are such saints or innocents that it is hard to understand either how they could have followed the monsters in the White Guard leadership or provoked the persecutions hinted at in the story. On the other hand the author is unsparing in her portraits of those unspeakables among the White Russians who consented, for small pay and tall promises from the Japanese, to betray the Chinese who alone had shown them any hospitality. The promises involved a still viler betrayal: restoration in Russia, with the help of Japanese bayonets—that help to be paid for by the cession of Siberian provinces.

In the light of these things and Mme. Fedorova's manifest desire to write fairly and without rancor, I wonder if certain small bad spots are not the responsibility of the

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publishers rather than the author. For example in a certain sentence mentioning the death of a child in a *Detdom* (children's home) the word is left undefined. For what reason? Other Russian terms are defined. Is it because to American ears such a combination of sounds, so close to death and doom, leaves that sinister impression so desired in certain quarters as the proper association for the word Soviet? On the other hand, in a description of a pitiful White Russian boy-hobo, an unnecesary definition is dragged in, giving the impression that the Soviet Union is still full of homeless children *(bezprizhorni)* wandering uncared for; but that situation, caused by the counter-revolutionary attempts and the intervention, ended some years ago. In fact, one of the great Soviet achievements, universally acknowledged, has been its extraordinarily successful rehabilitation of hundreds of thousands of young tramps and its continuing success with juvenile delinquents.

Altogether, however, in spite of its bland and ingratiating air of resignation, this book is an evidence of changing attitudes among White Russians. After all, the capitalist saviors of civilization among whom they took refuge, have overfed them on disillusionment.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Stephen Crane

TWENTY STORIES, *by Stephen Crane. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.*

CRANE is best remembered for his legendary *The Red Badge of Courage,* and the man himself is a legend. Dead at less than twenty-nine years of age, he had published twelve volumes of prose—novels, short stories, reportage—in the ten years of his active writing life. Much of this work will live, less for the fact of Crane's precociousness and prodigious energy than for its inherent excellence.

This collection, edited with an introduction by Carl Van Doren, contains all his best work with the exception of *The Red Badge.* "Maggie: A Girl of the Streets," written when its author was twenty-one, is one of the first and most valid realistic stories by an American writer. Crane was fascinated by the Bowery, soaked it up through personal experience, and created "Maggie," which was so uncompromising in its author's attitude toward his material that he had to print it himself with borrowed money. The year was 1892, and all previous considerations of the poor in New York's slum areas had been prettified, when they were not left unwritten.

The man who could, with no personal experience of war, execute the brilliant *tour de force* of *The Red Badge,* possessed an unwonted insight into other profound aspects of man's experience. "The Open Boat," which is reportage raised to the high plane of real art, exemplified this insight. "The Monster," a bitter and unrelieved treatment of white men's cruelty to a Negro maimed in the ser-

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vice of the whites, is similarly handled. Crane had a direct way of communicating with his fellowmen and the depth of his communication seemed curiously enough to have no relation to his own tender years. He was before his time in his disillusioned treatment of warfare; in his insistence upon writing about Bowery people as he knew them to be; in his understanding of poverty, class distinctions, and human greed. He was a forerunner.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Music and Society

MUSIC HERE AND NOW, *by Ernst Krenek. W. W. Norton. $3.*

TO MOST music lovers, Ernst Krenek is either unknown or remembered as the composer of a "freakish" jazz opera, *Johnny Spielt Auf,* which the Metropolitan presented about a decade ago. In Central Europe, however, before the fascists arrived, he was regarded as an important composer and musical theorist. Krenek was associated with Schoenberg, Berg, and von Weber in a group which wrote in perhaps the most difficult of modern idioms, and backed up its writing with an imposing, even terrifying weight of scholarship and dogmatic argument. Today, with Schoenberg, Krenek is teaching in America. His book, addressed directly to the American public, is both a brilliant example of what the European refugee scholars have to contribute to American culture, and an indication of the grave limitations of thought that characterize so many of them.

Music Here and Now combines an illuminating and progressive picture of the development of music, and its relations to social change, with an almost reactionary position on the problems of the musician today. The historical sections make clear that the idiom and forms of music have been created by society and have been directly affected by changes in the social structure. Krenek shows, for example, how so much of the difference between eighteenth and nineteenth century music is due to the difference in the musician's social position, both as performer and composer. And yet, discussing possibilities for the future, Krenek says, "I reject the idea, advocated by some people, that a thorough change of extra-musical conditions, such as social or political conditions, is needed to solve the problem. Evidence that mutations of this kind do not achieve the improvement are too convincing."

Why this apparent contradiction in thought? The answer is in Krenek's complete misconception of the nature of democracy and his total blindness to the role the common people have to play in the creation of a better society and a better culture. He accepts the fact that the world of profit-making and war has often made the serious artist an increasingly lonely individual with a dwindling audience—but he resigns himself to the conviction that this must always be. "Henceforth," he says, in describing music after Wagner, "the evolution of art music would be in advance of the average audience's capacity to understand it." Shocked by fascism into a realization that there is some point to democracy, he nevertheless limits that democracy to something resembling the post-war German and Austrian republics. To Krenek it is the best compromise possible between a selfish upper class and a common people whom he considers too ignorant to rule itself. And its only advantage is that it permits the artist to work, although in a somewhat lonely isolation.

The book deals with music, of course, rather than politics, although the author's political bent is clear enough in such sections as those praising the "patriarchal" empire of the Hapsburgs. His attitude toward the common people is also apparent in his discussion of modern music. To support his position, he is forced to ignore or denounce practically every composer who has used a folk idiom, and every composer, such as Hindemith, who has tried to create forms through which the artist can approach a broader audience. Krenek describes the Soviet Union as musically barren (which recalls a recent article in the press reporting the popular acclaim given a new opera by one of the most uncompromising of modernists, Serge Prokofieff). According to the author, the only progressive idiom the modern musician may use is that of the Viennese atonal school, although its limitations are only too obvious in his own brilliant description of it. "By intensifying the expression of personal emotion to the utmost, it has demonstrated the loneliness and alienation of humanity as clearly as possible."

A good deal may be learned from this book but only if the author and his theories are placed in their historical context, just as he has placed the music of the past. In other words, if we see Krenek's ideas as the expression of the sensitive bourgeois mind in flight from what seem to it to be the unsolvable problems of society; as a category of thinking whose dialectic, in both art and politics, carries it as far as the bourgeois world and stops there, failing to see the change even now taking place toward a people's world of socialism and a flowering culture in which the artist and the people are joining hands.

SIMON WELLS.

Roderick

Old Russia

ANYA, *by Joy Davidman. Macmillan. $2.50.*

"ANYA" is the brightly lighted tale of a handsome, rebellious Jewess of czarist Russia in the late 1800's—her conflicts with the traditions and ethics of her people, her triumphs and defeats. While Miss Davidman concerns herself primarily with the story of Anya, the principal character, and the setting in the Jewish quarters of the towns of Shpikov and Tulchin, many an innocent, peaceful reader lured by the richly told, spicy tale will gradually find himself worrying about pogroms, secret police, poverty, and other menacing shadows that haunt the darkened outskirts of the book. The feeling grows that terrible disaster hangs by a thread over the community of the Jews.

Miss Davidman has narrowed the scene and scope of her novel to Anya's life and the immediate vicinities through which it moves. It is as if Anya carries a lamp wherever she goes that illuminates everything within the small circle of its light while all that lies beyond its rays merges into obscurity. The author has left the rest of old Russia a dark land of threatening shadows shot through with sudden flashes of half-revealing light. Anya goes to live in Odessa with Yefim and his two sons. There she has a brief, uncomprehending contact with a group of revolutionaries, a young Jew among them. Lev Lvovitch attempts to enlighten her but her mind grasps only the idea that some day she might have the same privileges and luxuries enjoyed by the Polish noblewomen. We see the revolutionaries as Anya sees them, hazily, and there is no attempt at an objective discussion of social issues beyond the needs of the story structure. Everything is told directly through the medium of the story itself, through the deeds, emotions, and lives of the characters.

ALEXANDER F. BERGMAN.

Bolshevik Party Origins

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE WORLD WAR, *by Olga Hess Gankin and H. H. Fisher. Stanford University Press. $6.*

THIS is Volume 15 of the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace. It is a collection of documents, letters, resolutions on the origins of the Bolshevik Party, its relations with the Russian and international socialist movements, its fight against the first world war up to the foundation of the Communist International. In it will be found much of the source material on the pre-war socialist congresses: Stuttgart and Copenhagen, and their stand against imperialist war, followed by the wartime conferences from Kienthal, through the third Zimmerwald meeting at Stockholm. The authors allow themselves little interpretation, and while one cannot vouch for the completeness of the documentation or its translation, this eight-hundred-page tome will unquestionably be valuable for the student of the world war.

J. S.

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Sights & Sounds

"City for Conquest"

Aben Kandel's novel brought to the screen, starring James Cagney.

THE *City for Conquest* (Strand) is, of course, New York, as seen first through the novel by Aben Kandel, and adapted for the screen by John Wexley. I do not know whether Kandel's novel is as sentimental as the film; if so, it is a bad novel, for the screen play that has been made from it is a bad film.

It is bad because it is consistently vulgar in its thinking, sticky in its conception and execution. A success story of the work-hard-enough-and-you-will-succeed type, it hymns New York in the traditions of Tin Pan Alley. So cheap is its thinking about the problems of New Yorkers from our lower East Side, that it would not be amiss if the entire cast were to burst into the chorus of "There's a Broken Heart for Every Light on Old Broadway." For that sentiment is the measure of the film.

Take the slum kids, Jimmy Cagney, Elia Kazan, Ann Sheridan, Frank McHugh, and Arthur Kennedy. Jimmy can box, but all he wants is a job driving a truck, and his girl Annie. Annie wants to be a great dancer. Jimmy's brother Arthur wants to be a great composer. Kazan is a starveling who grows up to be a gangster. Well, Annie gets her wish—dance team girl in the big time. Jimmy, deserted by her, fights his way to the edge of the welterweight boxing crown, is beaten to a pulp in the process. His brother finally has his symphony of New York played at Carnegie Hall. McHugh, Jimmy's second, runs a newsstand with him after the near-champ is blinded by foul play. And Annie, deserting the dance partner who had done her wrong, finds Jimmy again. Kazan, the gangster, meets his Will Hays end. Throughout the film there wanders Frank Craven, an *Our Town* commentator without a pipe, but with a two weeks' growth of beard. Every time the action stops, there is Craven, smiling at the audience, assuring them that New York is a great town with a beating heart, with love hidden in unlikely places, and you got to keep in there punching, then everything will be okey doke. There used to be a horrible British phrase—"sick-making." It describes the picture.

Yet I want you to see it for two reasons. One of them is Cagney's performance as Young Sampson, the near-welterweight champ. It is superb. This boy, away from Hollywood, could have been one of our finest actors. As it is, he's pretty damned good. His performance after he has been blinded is heartbreaking. The other justification for the film is the debut of Elia Kazan, as

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S. A. Becker,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1940.

Martha Fisher, Notary Public.

My commission expires March 30, 1942.

"Googy," the slum-boy-grown-killer. So ingratiating and full of juice is this performance that, when Kazan cold-bloodedly murders the opposition boxer's manager, the audience cheered. It moaned audibly when Googy, in vice-meets-its-deserts tradition, is bumped off in turn.

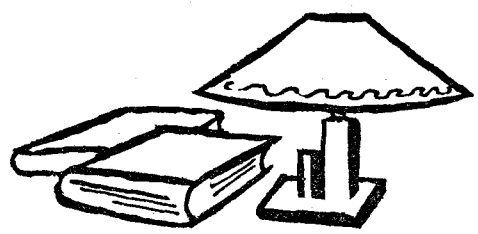
Forget, if you can, the sleaziness of the story, Hollywood's vulgarity, Ann Sheridan's anatomy, Donald Crisp's phony performance, Max Steiner's fourth-rate musical accompaniment, and watch Cagney and Kazan. They're worth the price. ALVAH BESSIE.

"No Time for Comedy"

This is the S. N. Behrman play, changed around a bit but generally fresh and entertaining. On the boards Mr. Behrman is a sophisticated playwright with a hankering after serious matter that he somehow manages to evade. In this screen play, adapted from the original, he tells the story of a sophisticated dramatist who hankers after serious matter and manages to evade it.

His hankering is abetted by a sappy society dame who likes to "inspire" successful slick-comedy writers into writing serious drayma. That is her technique of seduction. Playwright Jimmie Stewart, married to his actress wife Rosalind Russell, is the temporary victim. Needless to say, his serious drama is a terrific flop and Rosalind is there to console him, turn him back into the path of light comedy, not without a passing salute to the necessity for serious drama, even if Jimmie isn't the boy to write it. Someone, says Miss Russell in effect, ought to write about the menace of dictators, wars, etc. She's right. So, regretting that her Jimmie, who "bleeds," cannot do it, she induces him to satirize the smug, the complacent, the cynical.

Under William Keighley's nimble direction the film will give you many genuinely entertaining moments, one moment of real pathos. Stewart, though apparently typed forever as the wistful mother-needing young man, is constantly improving as a performer. Miss Russell manages a charming blend of sophistication and warm-heartedness. Charles Ruggles, non-intoxicated for a change, is a bored but charming Wall-Streeter; Allyn Joslyn a bored and venomous stage director. The less said about Genevieve Tobin as the banker's nitwit wife, the better. But *No Time for Comedy* is distinctly worth your small change. A. B.



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THE PRESIDENT SAID CHRISTMAS TREES....

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"Christmas trees. . . ." the President of the United States replied.

The woman who talked about the hungry was none other than Miss Harriet Elliott, Consumer Commissioner on the Defense Board. Her President gave her a polite, "humorous" trouncing—firm, nevertheless.

One of his whimsies was the reference to his Hyde Park Christmas trees. How well they grow might be considered part of national defense "in the long run," he said, but they are not "an immediate part of it." Nor, he indicated, were 45,000,000 hungry Americans.

NEW MASSES thinks otherwise. We don't yield to anyone when it comes to the defense of the American people. But we do think feeding the hungry, housing the homeless, clothing the ill-clad, IS defense. The extension of democratic rights IS defense. Keeping the American nation out of the European slaughter, IS defense of our people. We have said so and will say so as long as we have breath. Our writers say so week after week. In the next few weeks you will have the following writers saying so:

Earl Browder	Samuel Sillen
R. Palme Dutt	William Blake
J. B. S. Haldane	Ruth McKenney
Alter Brody	Bruce Minton
Corliss Lamont	Joshua Kunitz

We're for Christmas trees, but we don't want dead men hanging amidst the holly.

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